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Santa Barbara

Working Across Lines:

Resisting Extreme Energy Extraction in Idaho and California

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Sociology

by

Corrie Jane Grosse

Committee in charge:

Professor Kum-Kum Bhavnani, Chair

Professor John Foran

Professor ann-elise lewallen

Professor David N. Pellow

June 2017

The dissertation of Corrie Jane Grosse is approved.

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David N. Pellow

_____

ann-elise lewallen

_____

John Foran

_____

Kum-Kum Bhavnani, Committee Chair

June 2017

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VITA OF CORRIE GROSSE

JUNE 2017

EDUCATION

Ph.D. Sociology, University of California, Santa Barbara, June 2017
Interdepartmental Emphasis in Environment and Society
Dissertation: "Working Across Lines: Resisting Extreme Energy Extraction in Idaho and California."

M.A. Sociology, University of California, Santa Barbara, June 2013
Thesis: "*Como es duro es bonito*": Labor Conditions and Gendered Complexities for Women Working on a Fairtrade Rose Farm in Ecuador."

B.A. Sociology and Spanish, Minor in International Studies, Certificate in Diversity and Stratification, *summa cum laude*, University of Idaho, May 2011

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

2017- Assistant Professor, Department of Environmental Studies, College of Saint Benedict, Saint John's University

Teaching Experience, Department of Sociology, University of California, Santa Barbara

2012-2017 Teaching Associate:
Feminist Climate Justice (Spring 2015)

Teaching Assistant:
The World in 2050: Sustainable Development and Its Alternatives
Sociology of the Family
Social Movements
Climate Justice
Consumption, Waste, and the Environment
Activism
Sociological Research Methods
Women, Culture, Development
Introduction to Sociology

Research Experience, University of California, Santa Barbara

2016 Graduate Assistant, University of California Office of the President Carbon Neutrality Initiative.

2013-2015 Graduate Student Researcher, Dept. of Sociology, 50th Anniversary events.

2013-2014 Research Associate, Climate Justice Project: led research on youth climate justice activists, with Summer Gray, under John Foran (Sociology, UCSB).

2012-2013 Graduate Student Researcher: performed statistical analysis of the transmission of care occupations, under Maria Charles (Sociology, UCSB), in collaboration with Paula England (Sociology, NYU).

PUBLICATIONS

Peer Reviewed

Forthcoming. "Megaloads and Mobilization: The Rural People of Idaho Stand Against Big Oil." *Case Studies in the Environment.*

2017. "Grassroots vs. Big Oil: Measure P and the Fight to Ban Fracking in Santa Barbara County, California." *Case Studies in the Environment:*1-6.

2016. "Fair Care? How Ecuadorian Women Negotiate Childcare in Fair Trade Flower Production." *Women's Studies International Forum* 57:30-37.

2015. "Is There a Caring Class? Intergenerational Transmission of Care Work" (with Maria Charles and Paula England). *Sociological Science* 2:527-43. *equal authorship

2014. "Women Working on a Fair Flower Farm in Ecuador: An Ethnographic Study." In *SAGE Research Methods Cases*. London, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications, Ltd.

Book Chapters and Editor Reviewed Publications

Forthcoming. "Frontlines, Intersections, and Creativity: The Growth of the North American Climate Justice Movement" (with John Foran and Brad Hornick). In *Climate Futures: Re-Imagining Global Climate Justice*, edited by Kum-Kum Bhavnani, John Foran, Priya A. Kurian, and Debashish Munshi. University of California Press. *equal authorship

Forthcoming. "Tactics of Universalizing in the Climate Justice Movement." In *Welcome to the Revolution: Universalizing Resistance for Social Justice and Democracy in Perilous Times*, edited by Charles Derber. London: Routledge.

2016. "Scholar Activism and Reciprocity: The Fight Against Fracking in Idaho." *Practicing Anthropology* 38(3):28-30.

AWARDS

University of California, Santa Barbara

2017	Academic Senate Outstanding Teaching Assistant Award
2017	Graduate Division Dissertation Fellowship
2016	Academic Senate Travel Grant
2016	Sociology Graduate Student Association Travel Grant
2016, 15, 13	Sociology Department Research Grant
2016, 14	Graduate Student Association Travel Grant
2015	Chancellor's Sustainability Committee Graduate Researcher
2015	Flacks Fund for the Study of Democratic Possibilities
2015	Humanities and Social Sciences Research Grant
2014-2015	Crossroads Fellowship. Climate Futures: Movements, Gender, and Media
2014-2015	Interdisciplinary Humanities Center Graduate Affiliate. The Anthropocene: Views from the Humanities
2012	Chicano Studies Institute
2011-2012	Sociology Department Fellowship

FIELDS OF STUDY:

Climate and Environmental Justice Studies, Social Movement Studies, Sustainable Development, Gender and Social Inequalities, and Qualitative Research Methods.

ABSTRACT

Working Across Lines:

Resisting Extreme Energy Extraction in Idaho and California

by

Corrie Grosse

In mid-2017, oil and gas extraction is expanding, particularly in the United States, even as average global temperatures reach all-time highs, and countries embark on the Paris Agreement, the global treaty to mitigate climate change. Much of this extraction is facilitated by extreme extraction techniques (such as fracking and tar sands development) that have negative health effects, contaminate water, and exacerbate climate change. How do everyday people respond to this contradiction?

This study examines how activists organized resistance to fracking and tar sands development—extreme energy extraction—in the U.S. states of Idaho and California between 2013 and 2016. The research relies on ethnographic participant observation with activist groups in both California and Idaho and 106 in-depth interviews with anti-extraction and climate justice activists. In this resistance, activists work across lines of political ideologies, social identities, and organizational forms.

Through investigation of group dynamics, strategies, tactics, and campaign outcomes within diverse geographic and political contexts, this study traces how activists practice *working across lines*. My data illustrate that *working across lines* is a method for creating inclusive and diverse organizations and social movements. *Working across lines* embraces

different practices in different locations, according to the social characteristics and cultures of particular communities. It relies on building relationships and finding common ground.

In southwest Idaho, residents of a rural, predominantly white region work across political lines to build nonpartisan opposition to Idaho's nascent natural gas industry. In the oil extraction county of Santa Barbara, California, college students explore how to make activism accessible to participants across lines based on configurations of identities and political commitments. Campaigns against the transportation of tar sands machinery via trucks and trailers known as megaloads in central and northern Idaho from 2011 to 2014, and the 2014 campaign against fracking in Santa Barbara County, California illustrate how success or failure in working across racial and ethnic lines shape social movement outcomes in legal, electoral, and movement-building realms. Finally, my interviews with activists who organize through staffed and funded organizations ("grasstops"), and with activists who are volunteers and rely on horizontal leadership structures ("grassroots"), reveal that working across organizational lines is also critical to cultivating a strong climate justice movement.

In sum, the dissertation demonstrates how activists in Idaho and California are developing creative ways to resist extreme energy extraction, deepening understanding of social responses to climate change and how social movements can build inclusive collective identities. I find that common values of justice, community wellbeing, integrity, and accountability, and an array of practices that people have developed to enact those values enable them to work across lines of difference—to build unlikely alliances, coalitions, and broad-based movements that are vital to realizing social justice within a changing climate.

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Preface

The decade from 2007 to 2017 has been full of crisis and mobilization. December 2007 marked the beginning of a global "Great Recession." In 2009, hopes for a global climate treaty and U.S. climate legislation were dashed while bailouts to the banks behind the Great Recession rolled out. In 2011, the Occupy Movement and Arab Spring mobilized to contest injustice and inequality. Since 2013, Black Lives Matter and the Climate Justice Movement have been gaining momentum. Throughout this period, unconventional fossil fuel extraction in the form of hydraulic fracturing boomed in the United States, making it the largest oil and gas producer in the world. In 2016, people experienced the hottest year ever recorded and 62.9 million people voted to elect Donald Trump, someone who has expressed skepticism about climate change and made derogatory statements about women, people of color, immigrants, and Muslims, among others.[1] As a businessman whose actions simultaneously damage the lives of people and the planet, Trump exemplifies how social (in)justice, climate (in)justice, and capitalism are intimately intertwined. Understanding of this interconnectedness is also visible within the ranks of people who are resisting oppression and creating more just and sustainable visions for the world, visions which they enact in daily life.

The people whose stories I share in this dissertation are resisting the energy systems that fuel their lives while governments, industry, and mainstream culture hold tight to a political economy that is destroying the planet. The central actors in this project are not stereotypical

[1] See Clare Foran (2016) for information on Trump's climate-change denial and Kirk, Philbrick, and Roth (2016) for a compilation of Trump's derogatory statements.

environmentalists. Most are not far left political radicals. They are women, conservatives, young, old, and indigenous. They are small business owners, conservationists, families, and, yes, some are environmentalists—people who work for environmental organizations or those who, partially out of their commitment to the cause, refuse typical jobs or homes, taking solace in/from nature. They fight because they are directly affected by extraction, or know they will be soon. Their home prices, health, water, air, and ideas about representative democracy are under attack by the oil and gas industry. They notice far fewer of the fish and plants that their people have depended on for centuries. But others who fight are not affected. They learned about climate change through an eye-opening film, moving news bulletin, or terrifying article. These media, in the context of people's lives as students, parents, or elders, kindled urgency in their hearts, spurring them to act on what is still, for most of them, an abstract crisis.

In short, resistance to extreme extraction is far from homogenous. Its form is not that of a smooth obsidian arrow with a pinpoint tip. Rather, it is a shower of raindrops on untreated steel, slowly pounding away to create rust, eventually sculpting holes through which rain-nourished grass can sprout. The raindrops fall all over and sometimes in the same spot, where the steel is most weak or dependent for support. Unlike the arrowhead that when fractured, splinters into impossible-to-put-back-together-shards, the pool of water collecting in the steel's low point, or on the adjacent ground, is fluid. It can separate into individual drops and regroup without losing the character and strength of the whole or its parts. Both drops and pools provide hydration, though in different quantities. They carve canyons, if at different rates.

This dissertation is about these raindrops of resistance and how they coalesce.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

It was December 12, 2015. I was nearing the end of a two week stay with Alma Hasse and Jim Plucinski,[2] two small business owners who live on a farm near Parma, Idaho. For the last five years, Alma had been working to stop natural gas development in Idaho. It was a new industry for the state. Jim had begun investing all of his time, outside of running their business, to challenge natural gas development after Alma spent seven days in jail when she spoke out of turn at a county planning and zoning meeting related to oil and gas in October 2014. The theme we were discussing was: How might we understand the oil and gas industry's practices and what to do about them? Jim had a simple answer. The oil and gas industry, he explained, is like a dog-walking business that doesn't want to pick up after the dogs:

> One analogy would be, you know, somebody that's got a dog-walking business. And they have maybe fifteen employees and each one of 'em's got certain dogs they walk every single day, but the problem they're having is lack of productivity from them having to stop every so often and pick up a dogs' mess. They figure that if they look at it on a graph or a paper, they figure that costs them about an hour to an hour a half per day, per employee—which, fifteen employees, what's that, 22.5 hours of wasted productive time. "What can we do to fix that?"
>
> "The other thing too is that we have some employees that every once in a while, when they stand up from picking up the mess, have hurt their backs.... So now we have exposure and worker's comp claims. What to do about that?"
>
> Well, most rational business people will, number one, realize that that other 22.5 hours is just part of the job and it's a good thing to do to clean up after yourself or your employees' dogs. And as far as the back issues, you know, maybe implement

[2] Jim and Alma chose to use their real names in this research. I explain the rationale for this later in this chapter and in chapter three.

some type of stretching program, some types of techniques to do it correctly, maybe give 'em pooper scoopers on sticks [we all laugh]—you know, I mean there's ways to think about it, to do it, where it works.

But unfortunately, today's business climate, especially with large corporations, is that they don't think about it that way. They think about, "How can we get rid of this?"—and it's usually through legislation ... lobbying everybody in the state or federal government to say, "You know what ... we're really hurting the community by not having more jobs, we can have more people if we don't have to pick up dog poop, you know because we could—we will make more money, we could hire more people, we could even pay them more"—not that they are going to do that, but it sounds good. "And you know, we hate it when people get hurt, you know obviously there's a danger of stooping down and bending over and picking up dog manure, and we don't want that to happen to people, especially our employees—we care about our employees." Right [sarcasm, laughs]. "So, we would like to implement a law that we don't have to pick up that poop anymore. You know, we could actually probably even get a couple more dogs in a day if we don't have to pick up the poop on the walk, we can make more money"—but that's behind the scenes. [Alma chuckles]

So, you know, that's what they do, is they create laws to do things that other people are not allowed to do, or consciously, conscientiously, would not do, and make it legal. And then when they walk that dog and the dog does his thing right on the neighbor's lawn, right in front of the neighbor while the neighbor's getting the mail in the mailbox and the neighbor says, "Aren't you going to pick that up?" they go, "No ma'am, we're following the laws, we don't have to pick that up, we're doing everything regulated, we're doing everything by the books, we're following the laws," and they walk off with a smile.

That's what is happening with the corporatism in the United States and in the world, is that they are creating laws to do things that no other respectful human being would do to another person, so that they can have a higher balance sheet that, you know, reduces risks to them. But the bottom line is that, guess who's going to pay to pick up that poop? It's going to be everybody else that lives in that neighborhood, they're going to take time, because they are tired of seeing it accumulate on their front lawn, the same company every single week. They're going to have to go out there and ... pick it up, they're taking a chance of hurting their back. They're taking time away from their family, and you know, utilizing their resources to do so ...

Alma: to deal with somebody else's shit! That is a perfect analogy! [laughs]

Jim: Exactly. So that's, that's what's happening and you know a lot of people, when they hear, "Oh we are just following the laws, we are heavily regulated and everything,"— doesn't really matter what the business is, it's not about oil and gas, people have to realize that oil and gas is just a symptom of the problem. There are many many different business entities and types that are doing the exact same thing.

Jim then moved on to talk about how to confront this problem and his assessment of how people working on resistance could be more effective:

> You have to look at it as a tree. Everybody is working on different branches and the bottom line is I mean—can you tell me if you cut a branch off a tree, will that tree die? [pause] What's it going to do? It's going to put up another branch.... So the big thing is, is that everybody, as far as people that are activists ... everybody is working on a branch and not on the roots.... and it doesn't matter if it's GMO, if it's oil and gas, or if it's gun control.... again, it's not a political thing—is that people need to start realizing what their true enemy is and that's the collusion between unethical business and corrupt government ... once they do realize that there is a common foe ... we all need to bond together and to do that. They are so busy keeping us separated between a right thing [on the political spectrum], and a left thing....
>
> And you know, I was kind of joking around a little bit, but I'm serious, I would love to see the three percenters[3] hand-in-hand with the Sierra Club, working on this oil and

[3] The Three Percenter's Club (III%) are a volunteer group that seeks to defend the U.S. Constitution. They formed in response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and restrictions on gun ownership, which they see as a violation of the second amendment. Their name is inspired by the three percent of U.S. settler colonists who joined the militia to fight against the British to secure American independence during the revolutionary war. They believe that "Tyranny has conquered the political system" (consider how people who consider themselves politically liberal might agree with this phrase if thinking of corporations as the source of tyranny). Thus, they are organizing militias to "be prepared in the event of a disaster." For example, they would assist the military and local law enforcement in the event of a terrorist attack to infrastructure. On their website (http://www.threepercentersclub.org/), they work to dispel stereotypes about their group. "The III% are not radicals, conspiracy theorists, or antigovernment." They appear open to questions and disagreement: "We will answer any questions you have with honesty and will be willing to help you grow yourself in the cause." "If you have a difference in opinion to any of the content of this page you are not an enemy. This is a free country and that is what we fight for." While I do not agree with the group's statements that paint socialism as a bad thing, I agree with Jim that they are, in some ways, fighting for the same thing as some of the activists I interviewed. They want the government to represent the people. The main difference between this group and groups identified as politically liberal is that liberal groups identify corporate influence in politics as the reason that the government tends to not represent the interests of the people. Consider the shared call to "protect" in the III% and Sierra Club's slogans. The III% slogan is: "serve, defend, protect." The Sierra club's slogan is: "explore, enjoy, and protect the planet." In March 2017, the Sierra club had a large red banner at the top of their website that read, "Protect our Planet from Trump." Ironically, groups like these seem to have arrived at the same conclusion—the government is not working in the interest of the people. The things that lead them to that conclusion are

> gas issue, because truly they are working against the same enemy, they just have to realize that.

Jim's dog walking analogy illustrates a central finding in my research—oil and gas development is an affront to core values of integrity, accountability, fairness, and the health and wellbeing of families and communities. In Jim and other interviewees' opinion, the oil and gas industry walks all over people, uses legal and political systems to protect itself, and leaves communities to pick up the messes it produces. These messes are toxic environments and an inhospitable climate, sick people, degraded social ties, and loss of homes, livelihoods, and public resources. For Jim, the collusion and corruption of the oil and gas industry represents a lack of care and respect, a lack of integrity and accountability that he, as a business owner, sees as common decency. He and Alma don't just believe in these values. They also act on them, treating the people around them, their employees, customers, family, and activists,[4] with care, respect, and generosity.

Different people have different terms for these values, but at bottom, they revolve around issues of fairness, right and wrong, relationships, and justice. I saw all kinds of people in Idaho and California acting on these values—Nez Perce tribal members in Idaho and a Chumash family in Santa Barbara, college students, elderly people, women, men, people

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typically different—the why behind lack of representation. They also have different tactics to address the problem they see. Yet, they may be able to work together on their shared goal of government accountability to people. Evidence of this potential comes from a pro-Standing Rock article on the III Percent Nation website that concludes: "The future is unsure at the moment but one thing is certainly clear, taxpayer funded police are being used to support multibillion dollar corporations that couldn't care less about the water supply" (Johnson 2016). At heart, as Jim argues, environmental and justice groups and groups like the III% are concerned about people having a say in governance and the protection of public resources.

[4] At minimum, I define activist as someone who spends time learning and sharing information about something they perceive as either unjust or just. See chapter four and five for more discussion of this term.

with children, working people, unemployed people, wealthy people, poor people, people with disabilities, people of color, mixed race people, and white people. Drawing from their insights and experience, this dissertation is a study of how people work together by appealing to common values. I find that common values and an array of practices that people have developed to enact those values and to prefigure a future where society is organized for the benefit of people and communities, rather than corporations, enable people to work across lines of difference—to build unlikely alliances, coalitions, and movements capable of creating social change.

THE CONTRADICTION OF EXTREME ENERGY EXTRACTION AND CLIMATE CHANGE

My research is set within a contradiction. In the mid two-thousand teens, awareness and concern about climate change is approaching all-time highs, both in the United States and globally. 2015 was the first time that the United Nations agreed on a global plan to address climate change. The following year, after ratification by 133 countries, the Paris Agreement went into effect. In the United States in 2015, over fifty percent of people agreed that human activities are changing the Earth's climate (Hamilton et al. 2015). In 2016, Gallup found that sixty-four percent of Americans worry a fair amount or great deal about global warming, the highest percentage since 2008 (Saad and Jones 2016). This momentum falls flat when looking to U.S. energy policy.

In 2013, the United States became the world's leading producer of oil and gas (U.S. Energy Information Administration 2016d). In 2015, two-thirds of natural gas and half of oil production in the United States came from hydraulically fractured wells (U.S. Energy

Information Administration 2016a; U.S. Energy Information Administration 2016e). This was a huge increase over previous years. In 2000, hydraulic fracturing accounted for just seven percent of natural gas production and less than two percent of oil production in the United States. Hydraulic fracturing is one form of "extreme energy extraction" that I examine in this dissertation.[5] Extreme energy extraction is any method requiring companies "to drill in extreme temperatures or extreme weather, or use extreme pressures, or operate under extreme danger—or some combination of these" (Klare 2012). Fossil fuels extracted through hydraulic fracturing, and other extreme techniques require vast quantities of natural, financial, and technical resources to extract and process them into usable fuels. Tar or oil sand, whose extraction is another topic in my research, is just as it sounds—a tar-like substance that must be gouged or melted out of the earth. Extracting and processing tar sands uses roughly three times as much water and results in fifteen percent more greenhouse gas emissions than conventional oil (Union of Concerned Scientists n.d.). Tar sands extraction and hydraulic fracturing are associated with negative health consequences, water contamination, and pollution of environments and the climate (Cart 2015b; Concerned Health Professionals of NY and Physicians for Social Responsibility 2016; Hansen 2012; Howarth, Santoro, and Ingraffea 2011; McKenzie et al. 2014; McKibben 2012; McKibben 2016b; McLachlan 2014; U.S. EPA 2016a). Injection of fracking wastewater into the ground is responsible for making Oklahoma the earthquake capital of the world (Chow 2015).

Beyond causing these material consequences, extreme energy extraction illustrates a lack of regard for climate science (IPCC 2013, 2014). The concentrations of greenhouse

[5] Conventional methods for fossil fuel extraction target easy to reach fossil fuel deposits, making them less resource intensive than extreme extraction techniques.

gases[6]—particularly carbon dioxide, methane, and nitrous oxide—in the earth's atmosphere are higher today than they have been in the last 800,000 years (IPCC 2013). These gases trap heat in the atmosphere, contributing to rising global temperatures. Human activities—transportation and production systems based on the extraction and combustion of fossil fuels—are responsible for a large portion of the increase in greenhouse gas concentrations and resulting effects such as changes in climate patterns, melting ice sheets, and rising sea levels (IPCC 2013). These changes will have negative consequences on humans and the more-than-human world[7] (IPCC 2014). Yet, when conventional reserves of oil and gas became scarce, the United States expanded total extraction through extreme techniques. How could federal and local U.S. governments pursue extreme energy extraction, when climate science so clearly points to the need to stop all greenhouse gas emissions (IPCC 2014)? In-depth analysis of the many answers to this question is beyond the scope of my study. Put briefly, this situation is related to structures of power and growth imperatives inherent to

[6] Mathematician Joseph Fourier described the greenhouse effect in 1824, reasoning that something prevented infrared radiation from escaping the earth's atmosphere, keeping the earth warm, much like a greenhouse. In 1862, physicist John Tyndall discovered that water vapor and carbon dioxide help trap heat in the atmosphere. In 1895, chemist Svante Arrhenius calculated how quantities of carbon dioxide affected global temperatures and in 1958, Charles Keeling began measuring carbon dioxide levels at Mauna Loa, Hawaii. His measurements demonstrate the continual rise of carbon dioxide concentrations since the 1950s. Increasing concentrations of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases are linked to warming of global average temperatures, which cause changes in climate and weather patterns, rises in sea levels, and melting of ice sheets and glaciers. See Chivers (2010) for an accessible introduction to climate change and the 2014 report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC 2014) for the latest climate science and likely future scenarios. See the film *Disruption* (Nykes 2014) for a visual overview of the history of climate science.

[7] Following David Pellow (2016), I use the term more-than-human world to refer to more-than-human objects and natures—plants, animals, non-living elements of the earth, and even human-built objects. "More-than" decenters humans and is a gesture toward respecting the relationships of co-dependence with creatures and living and non-living things that characterizes human experience.

capitalism. As Marx ([1976] 1990) noted, capitalism "surpasses all earlier systems of production ... in its energy and its quality of *unbounded and ruthless* activity" (my emphasis 424-425). Its internal logic is to endlessly increase profits through more intense and expansive exploitation of capital, which includes people, the earth, and machinery. In particular, the contradiction between the warnings of climate science and expanding extreme energy extraction stems from power wielded by the fossil fuel industry and its allies like the Koch brothers, who have not only funded tremendous political opposition to climate and renewable energy policy, but have also purposely obscured climate science (Klein 2014; Mayer 2016; Oreskes and Conway 2010). My focus lies at the micro level. How do everyday people respond to this contradiction? Do they respond with resistance?

My interest in resistance is political and scholarly. As a person coming of age during this period, I am concerned about the future. I want to lend my labor to *climate justice*, which I define as a fossil-free world with a healthy climate and just society, one with an economic system other than capitalism and where decisions about development are democratic and grounded in understanding the interdependency of social justice and a healthy planet.[8] History demonstrates that people's resistance can advance social justice and improve environmental conditions. People's movements around the world and in the United States have contributed to the advancement of human and civil rights, protection of air, water, and land, and securing reparations for communities who have suffered social and environmental oppression. The climate crisis poses a threat to these efforts and promises to exacerbate the many forms of injustice that have never been ameliorated. By contributing a partial

[8] Climate justice shares similarities with, and draws from environmental justice. The difference lies in the more global scope of climate justice.

understanding of how people apply a proven tool for social transformation—organized resistance—to this new challenge, I hope to facilitate social movements, public discussion, and scholarly capacity to envision just and sustainable social and socio-environmental relationships.

Information on the social dynamics of climate change is underutilized in decision-making about how to address this crisis, despite the fundamentally social nature of climate change causes, consequences, and solutions (Dunlap and Brulle 2015). Energy is a core component of these dynamics, yet energy research, like climate change research, suffers from a dearth of social science perspectives (Sovacool 2014).[9] Knowledge about climate justice—which necessarily includes a transformation of energy systems—and the emergent social movements working to realize this goal can begin to fill this gap (Caniglia, Brulle, and Szasz 2015; Harlan et al. 2015). My research works to build the social science of climate justice by exploring questions at the heart of environmental sociology, environmental anthropology, and social movement studies, questions about how people interact with their environment and how they organize together to create change.

[9] Sovacool (2014) analyzes 4444 research articles published from 1999 to 2013 in three leading energy journals. Of this sample, only 19.6 percent of authors reported training in the social sciences, only 12.6 percent of articles utilized qualitative methods, and less than five percent of citations were to social science and humanities journals. Sociology represented only .9 percent of studies. A category containing anthropology, development studies and other disciplines accounted for less than .3 percent of studies. Less than sixteen percent of authors in the sample identified themselves as women. Representation of feminist perspectives was even more lacking. None of the authors of these 4444 studies reported training in women's studies, feminism, gender studies, or related disciplines. My research contributes to these areas of knowledge/scholarship.

I explore the question of resistance through a study of activism against extreme energy extraction in California and Idaho, two places with different political, energy, and social contexts. My California research is based in the county of Santa Barbara, the site of the world's first offshore oil drilling in 1896 and the United States' first major oil spill in 1969. In 2014, amid a historic drought, California's warmest year ever, and proposed oil expansion, grassroots climate activists in the group 350 Santa Barbara formed a coalition that attempted to ban extreme energy extraction with a ballot measure, Measure P. Over six million dollars in oil industry opposition inundated the community, sharpening already existing divisions among residents, especially political and racial divides. Despite the measure's failure on election day, the struggle remains the largest electoral mobilization (in terms of volunteers and money) to ban fracking in California history and relied upon substantial organizing by youth activists at Santa Barbara's college and university.

My research in Idaho, a more politically conservative state with no oil or gas extraction until 2009, is based in three regions: southwest, central, and northern Idaho. Southwest Idaho is the site of the state's nascent natural gas industry. In this region of rural farms surrounding Idaho's capital and largest city, residents formed the group Citizens Allied for Integrity and Accountability in 2015, which is engaged in an ongoing struggle to protect property rights. Representatives of Idaho's small number of statewide environmental nonprofit groups, after attempting to strengthen Idaho's natural gas regulatory structure, mostly stand on the sidelines, unsure of how to widen their mission statements to include concerns of property-rights activists who do not consider themselves to be environmentalists. In the other two regions included in my research, central and northern Idaho, from 2011-2014, a grassroots coalition of individuals and organizations protested 200-foot-long

megaloads (trucks with trailers) of tar sands infrastructure on rural highways and in small towns before successfully barring the loads in a legal suit that was resolved in 2017. In both states, activists are in conversation across campaigns and across geographies, with many participating in regional, state-wide, national, and global social movement communities. My analysis elucidates the character of resistance to extreme energy extraction in these two different states to highlight commonalities across diverse contexts and to show how the particularities of these contexts inform activism.

The data in this dissertation come from ethnographic fieldwork and 106 in-depth interviews. My ethnographic fieldwork consisted of a total of three months conducting research in Idaho in 2015 (spread throughout February, March, July, October, November, and December) and my participation and participant observation in climate justice organizing in Santa Barbara, California from September 2013 to September 2016. I was most involved as a participant in Santa Barbara from September 2013 through November 2014 and most involved as a participant observer from May 2014 to May 2016. The interviews were styled as "conversations with a purpose" (Burgess 1984), semi-structured interviews that recognize the importance of establishing relationships of trust and confidence with interviewees. They averaged seventy-two minutes in length and explored themes including interviewees' work as activists, their perspectives on diversity and inclusivity in their groups, and their hopes for the future. I conducted sixty-two interviews in Idaho during the months I conducted fieldwork in 2015. In Santa Barbara, I conducted a total of forty-four interviews from May 2015 through September 2016. Twenty-nine of these interviews, conducted between May 2015 and October 2015, were with youth activists. I interviewed the remaining fifteen Santa Barbara-based activists from January to September 2016.

I interviewed women and men whose ages ranged from nineteen to seventy-eight and who identified as White, Native American, Latina/o, African American, Black, Filipino, Singhalese Sri Lankan, and as mixed race and biracial. They held positions in different types of organizations. Throughout the research, I identified myself as a scholar activist and strove to practice feminist accountability and reciprocity (see Bhavnani 1993; Haraway 1988; Pulido 1996 and chapter three). With the approval of the UCSB Human Subjects Committee, I practiced accountability by offering interviewees the option of using their real names. All but twenty-four used their full first and last names. Others choose to use just their first name or a pseudonym. Using real names is important because it gives people credit for their ideas. It can also facilitate movement building by giving readers the ability to learn more about interviewees' work and to perhaps even link up with them and their organizations.[10]

Chapters five through eight of this dissertation explore my interview- and fieldwork-based data. These chapters flow from in-depth analysis of practices and perspectives of particular groups of interviewees to comparative analyses that interweave stories of campaigns and perspectives across Idaho- and California-based groups and research sites. They reveal that resistance to extreme energy extraction is characterized by *working across lines*. I use the phrase "working across lines" to refer to activists' efforts to organize people across lines of difference, whether these be lines based on political views, race and ethnicity, age, area of interest, strategic and tactical preferences, and type of organization (i.e. staffed nonprofits or grassroots groups). Through chapters five through eight, I identify four major components to working across lines as a method of resistance to extreme energy extraction:

[10] See chapter three for more discussion of how using real names facilitates accountability.

- focusing on core values, which include community, justice, integrity, accountability, and health of people and the more-than-human world
- identifying the roots of injustice, whether described as capitalism or lack of integrity and accountability of government and industry
- cultivating relationships, which some interviewees refer to as *relational organizing*
- welcoming difference.

These methods illuminate the character of one social response to climate change—people organizing together to effect change.

Through prioritizing perspectives and action to realize these elements of organizing, activists and groups across my research sites build capacity to construct unlikely alliances and coalitions to challenge the fossil fuel industry—they work across lines for a just and sustainable future. When activists agree on core values, illuminate how unjust conditions put these in jeopardy, and draw on relationships of trust to welcome and support diverse participants and tactics, they are better equipped to create a truly inclusive sense of shared understanding and vision, something social movement scholars call "collective identity" (see Melucci 1989; Taylor and Whittier 1992). Building an inclusive collective identity through these means might facilitate the growth of a broad-based social movement, one that could be society's best hope for achieving climate justice. My analysis of this process enhances understanding of two components of movement building—collective identity and coalition building.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

I set the stage for my research in chapters two and three by providing background on the context of climate change, extreme energy extraction, and climate justice. I explore

climate justice and the climate justice movement as one way to confront the climate crisis. This crisis is inevitable, given capitalism's search for ever expanding accumulation. As capitalism destroys the very thing on which it depends—a climate that makes human labor possible—people are taking lessons from environmental justice and ecofeminist philosophies and movements to create and build the climate justice movement. I trace how this movement is growing in the contexts of California and Idaho.

In chapter four, I outline my methodology, detailing how, where, and when I conducted the ethnographic fieldwork and in-depth interviews that constitute the data for my study. This dissertation relies on traditions in global, critical, and feminist ethnography. Throughout the research, I prioritized feminist and scholar activist principles including accountability and reciprocity. In this chapter, I reflect on how I engaged in these practices and specifically, how attention to positionality, partial knowledge, micropolitics, difference, and avoiding reinscription of research participants into stereotypical representations are critical for being accountable through writing. I also consider the importance of relationships as a form of accountability and describe the character of my relationships with interviewees.

The next chapter opens my analysis with an in-depth account of how rural southwestern Idahoans built an unlikely alliance to resist natural gas development. The group they formed, called Citizens Allied for Integrity and Accountability (CAIA), has had board members who were former leaders of the local tea party group, people who consider themselves Democrats, climate change skeptics, and people who are very concerned about climate change. I argue that this unlikely trans-partisan alliance is created and maintained by the practice of *talking across lines*. *Talking across lines* depends on dedication—in mission statement, messaging, and engagement within and beyond the group—to those issues that

most people can agree are important, issues which are not hot button political topics. Climate change and environment are politically polarizing subjects in rural Idaho and in the United States more generally (Dunlap, McCright, and Yarosh 2016). Rather than rally around these themes, CAIA focuses on issues of private property, public infrastructure, and, as its name suggests, government and corporate accountability and integrity. Talking across lines also depends on complicating labels related to political party, climate change beliefs, activism, and NIMBY (not in my back yard) environmentalism, and assumptions about how and whether these labels inform a person's views on and willingness to resist natural gas. I examine the ambiguity of the relationships among labels, beliefs, and views on natural gas. Finally, talking across lines requires agreeing to disagree on certain issues. In other words, people must be able to sit with divergent views on some topics in the interest of working together to advance what they can agree on. Agreeing to disagree is a complicated way of navigating difference that is heavily reliant on trust.

Chapter six takes the reader from rural Idaho to Santa Barbara, California to explore the values and practices of youth climate justice activists. These youth, primarily organizing in the context of groups and campaigns embedded in college and university environments, are developing progressive values and practices that create a particular culture of organizing. I call this culture a *climate justice culture of creation* because it is a political culture focused not only on resistance, but also on creation (see Foran 2014). It prefigures the world that youth want to see in the present—in their groups, interpersonal interactions, and experiences. The way in which youth are building their organizations creates a political culture rooted in recognizing the interconnections of social justice and environmental/climate justice. The core values of this culture are accessibility, intersectionality, relationships, and community. Youth

strive to make organizing accessible and enjoyable to all. They teach each other how social and environmental inequalities intersect to inform people's lived experiences and different passions. Youth interviewees prioritize relationships as the basis of understanding and supporting each other. They envision healthy communities as those where people are politically engaged and willing to build relationships with people who don't share their views. Specific practices, including horizontal leadership structures, anti-oppression trainings, and work to diversify members and leaders all embody these values. I see youth's climate justice culture of creation as a powerful movement-building tool for working across lines.

Following chapter six, I transition to comparative analysis of my cases across campaigns, locations, and activist groups. I begin with an analysis of the tensions and possibilities for building coalitions between grassroots and staffed nonprofit organizations—or what I call grasstops organizations—in chapter seven. I find that organizational form, particularly nonprofits' responsibilities to fulfill mission statements and secure funding, as well as strategic, tactical, and motivational divergences, challenge activists' efforts to build coalitions between these elements of the movement. To bridge these divides, activists stress the importance of welcoming new ideas, giving attribution, and centering, rather than marginalizing demands for radical systems-changing actions.

The final analysis chapter, chapter eight, explores two resistance efforts—Measure P in Santa Barbara County, and the mobilization to stop megaloads on Idaho highways. First, I narrate these stories of struggle, providing a synthesis of interviewee perspectives and lessons learned. I discuss the diversity of concerns and tactics that made the megaload struggle successful and the strengths and weaknesses that characterized the impressive and

yet ultimately unsuccessful Measure P ballot measure. Next, I consider some of the key differences and similarities between these campaigns, highlighting sense of place, immediacy of threat, strategy, and how each campaign laid the groundwork for ongoing relationships and further collaboration. Using these cases, I argue that the ability to convene horizontal coalitions that include, value, and empower participation by grassroots activists, members of racial and ethnic minorities (Nez Perce and Latinxs[11] in these cases), and young people is key to effective fossil fuel resistance. Building rewarding coalitions was less successful when activists tried to unite around one message, set of tactics, and way of building relationships and more successful when groups retained the freedom to employ different messages, tactics, and movement-building methods, in line with each group's priorities. This latter way of organizing is more welcoming to the diverse constituencies that a broad-based movement requires. In some ways, it parallels the tactics of Occupy Wall Street. As Graeber argues, Occupy sought, not to "come up with a vision for a new political order," but rather, to "help create a way for everyone to do so" (2013:38). While critics argued that this approach prevented Occupy from realizing concrete results,[12] the megaload struggle demonstrates that diverse and horizontal resistance can effect legal change.

[11] I use Latinx in my writing to resist the patriarchy inherent in using a masculine noun to describe people of all genders. I respect interviewees' use of Latino or Latina in direct quotes and in how they express their identities. I use Latino to reference the terminology in the U.S. Census.

[12] As I argue throughout this dissertation, movement success can take many forms, not just political or legal change. Movement building, or cultivating a culture of movement participation, is also something movements define as success (Juris et al. 2014). For Graeber, Occupy was successful in practicing prefigurative politics and creating a "genuinely democratic culture" (2013:149). Through its influence on discourse and through Occupy participants engaging in other movements, Occupy also continues to build momentum for a variety of concrete changes, like a fifteen dollar minimum wage (Levitin 2015).

In chapter nine, I review the analysis and argument, illuminate the contributions of this research, and suggest paths forward. Closing with interviewees' hopes for the future, I invite the reader to build relationships, cultivate values, and share practices that facilitate social transformation toward a fossil free, community-centered world. I hope this dissertation nourishes your desire, capacity, and joy for working across lines to meet the challenges we face.

CHAPTER TWO

The End of the World?: Climate Crisis, Extreme Energy, and the Climate Justice Movement

> Risks are considered key due to high hazard or high vulnerability of societies and systems exposed, or both.... The key risks that follow, all of which are identified with *high confidence*, span sectors and regions ...
>
> i) Risk of death, injury, ill-health, or disrupted livelihoods in low-lying coastal zones and small island developing states and other small islands, due to storm surges, coastal flooding, and sea level rise.
> ii) Risk of severe ill-health and disrupted livelihoods for large urban populations due to inland flooding in some regions.
> iii) Systemic risks due to extreme weather events leading to breakdown of infrastructure networks and critical services such as electricity, water supply, and health and emergency services
> iv) Risk of mortality and morbidity during periods of extreme heat, particularly for vulnerable urban populations and those working outdoors in urban or rural areas.
> v) Risk of food insecurity and the breakdown of food systems linked to warming, drought, flooding, and precipitation variability and extremes, particularly for poorer populations in urban and rural settings.
> vi) Risk of loss of rural livelihoods and income due to insufficient access to drinking and irrigation water and reduced agricultural productivity, particularly for farmers and pastoralists with minimal capital in semi-arid regions.
> vii) Risk of loss of marine and coastal ecosystems, biodiversity, and the ecosystem goods, functions, and services they provide for coastal livelihoods, especially for fishing communities in the tropics and the Arctic.
> viii) Risk of loss of terrestrial and inland water ecosystems, biodiversity, and the ecosystem goods, functions, and services they provide for livelihoods.
>
> Many key risks constitute particular challenges for the least developed countries and vulnerable communities, given their limited ability to cope.
>
> – Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability. Summary for Policymakers. Working Group II Contribution to The Fifth Assessment Report of The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

> President Trump is committed to eliminating harmful and unnecessary policies such as the Climate Action Plan ... [and] will embrace the shale oil and gas revolution ....
>
> – An America First Energy Plan, The White House, 2017

> WHY WE'RE MARCHING ... Donald Trump's election is a threat to the future of our planet, the safety of our communities, and the health of our families.... If the policies he proposed on the campaign trail are implemented, they will destroy our climate, decimate our jobs and livelihoods, and undermine the civil rights and liberties won in many hard fought battles. It's up to us to stop that from happening before it starts.... Join us on April 29th.
>
> – People's Climate Movement, 2017

In the midst of climate crisis, there is a disconnect between science and policy. Rather than heed the calls of climate scientists, governments and corporations have been doubling down to extract fossil fuels—scraping the bottom of the barrel for oil and gas in its dirtiest, most hard to reach forms. Since the early 2000s, the climate justice movement has been working to fill the void between the known risks of climate change, which are only becoming more likely, and inaction. While the contrast between what the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change writes, and what the Trump administration plans is extreme, it is not uncharacteristic of policy and action at local and global levels around the world since 1992, when countries first joined the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

This chapter lays the foundation for the remainder of the dissertation by detailing the politics of climate change, extreme energy extraction, and climate justice. I synthesize contributions from the interdisciplinary fields of environmental and climate justice studies, ecofeminism, and social movement studies to provide background on these topics and on the climate justice movement. The analysis chapters that follow build upon these insights to not

only deepen the perspectives of scholars, activists, and the public about this movement, but also, to prepare readers with concrete cases and practices that they might adapt to their own efforts to build sustainable communities.

CLIMATE CRISIS

As the opening excerpt from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's Fifth Assessment Report communicates, we, humans and non-humans, are in climate crisis. Despite the reserved scientific language of risks and probabilities in the excerpt, the emergency of our situation is not far from the surface. "High confidence" is strong language for climate scientists. Key climate risks—mortality, loss of livelihood, increased illness, and loss of ecosystems—become more and more likely as greenhouse gas emissions and temperatures continue to rise (IPCC 2014). These risks will affect people everywhere, especially the most marginalized communities, and the scale of action to mitigate these risks does not match their severity.[13]

From 1800 to 2012, humans raised the global average temperature of the earth by about .85 degrees Celsius (IPCC 2013). 2016 was the hottest year on record, beating previous records set the previous two years—an unprecedented trend. Sixteen of the seventeen hottest years ever have occurred since 2000 (Patel 2017). While the twenty-first Conference of the Parties (COP) to the UNFCCC's adoption of the Paris Agreement in 2015 made some strides toward lowering emissions, it did not do enough. The International Energy Agency (2017)

[13] Bill McKibben (2016), Silk (2016), and The Climate Mobilization (http://www.theclimatemobilization.org/) have argued that the United States should be mobilizing resources on the scale of WWII to address climate change.

reports that implementing the climate pledges outlined in the Paris Agreement would limit rise in global average temperature by 2100 to 2.7 degrees Celsius. These pledges are voluntary and lack enforcement mechanisms. The last time the world had temperatures of three degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels was three million years ago. Gavin Schmidt, director of NASA's Goddard Institute for Space Studies explained that, "At that time, there was almost no ice anywhere. The sea level was twenty meters (sixty-five feet) or so higher" (Lewis 2015). Between twenty-five and ninety-two percent of the population of fourteen of the world's megacities would be under water with a six meter rise (twenty feet), which scientists predict at only two degrees Celsius of warming (Strauss 2015). In the International Energy Agency's main climate scenario, the entire carbon budget for a two degrees Celsius future is used up by the early 2040s. The carbon budget is the amount of carbon that can be burned while staying under the globally agreed upon threshold for maximum warming, two degrees Celsius (3.6 degrees Fahrenheit). 350.org co-founder Bill McKibben (2012) has argued that simple math, according to this budget, means that fossil fuel corporations hold over five times the carbon budget in their reserves. Therefore, staying within the carbon budget requires that fossil fuel companies keep most of their reserves in the ground.

Keeping fossil fuels in the ground does not sit well with the profit seeking of the fossil fuel industry. In the decades following World War II, there were seven major multinational companies dominating the oil industry. Known as the seven sisters, they were Royal Dutch Shell, British Petroleum, Gulf Oil, Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, and Chevron (Sampson 1975). In 1960, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, and Venezuela formed the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Now composed of thirteen nations, OPEC is an intergovernmental organization that unifies the petroleum policies of its member

countries, which "exercise permanent sovereignty over their natural resources in the interest of their national development" (OPEC 2017). In the realm of publicly traded companies, the seven sisters, some of which have merged,[14] are still powerful and well known, but they are now joined by major companies from other countries. In terms of revenues, profits, assets, and market value, U.S.-based ExxonMobil was the world's largest publicly traded oil company in 2016, followed by China's state-controlled PetroChina, Chevron (United States), Total (France), Sinopec (China), and Royal Dutch Shell (Netherlands) (Forbes 2016a). In terms of 2016 production, Russia's Gazprom and Rosneft led, with ExxonMobil in third, followed by PetroChina, BP (United Kingdom), Royal Dutch Shell, Chevron, and Petrobras (Brazil) (Forbes 2016b).

The fossil fuel industry's mission is to increase profits for shareholders by finding and selling as much fossil fuel as possible. Internal documents dating from the early 1990s to the mid 2000s demonstrate that this mission led Exxon (now ExxonMobil) and other fossil fuel companies to spend millions of dollars to spread doubt about climate science (InsideClimate News 2015; Oreskes and Conway 2010; Union of Concerned Scientists 2015). They followed the lead of the tobacco industry, which obfuscated the health effects of smoking for decades (Oreskes and Conway 2010; Union of Concerned Scientists 2007).[15]

[14] For a genealogy of major oil company mergers, see http://www.gly.uga.edu/railsback/PGSG/818PetroleumHistory6.pdf

[15] In 2015, the New York State Attorney General began an investigation of ExxonMobil to determine whether the company lied to the public about climate change and to its investors about how climate change would affect the oil industry (Gillis and Krauss 2015). The campaign #EXXONKNEW (http://exxonknew.org/), organized by climate organizations including 350.org, petitions the U.S. Department of Justice and State Attorney's General to hold Exxon accountable. For more information, see the investigative series by Inside Climate News at https://insideclimatenews.org/content/Exxon-The-Road-Not-Taken and the complimentary report released by the Union of Concerned Scientists (2015).

For example, an internal Exxon memo titled "The Greenhouse Effect," from August 1988, noted the scientific consensus on the role fossil fuels play in climate change, concluding: "Exxon Position: Emphasize the uncertainty in scientific conclusions regarding the potential enhanced greenhouse effect" (Jennings, Grandoni, and Rust 2015). The fossil fuel industry has also funded scientists and think tanks to spread doubt about climate science. In one instance during 2001 to 2012, fossil fuel interests including ExxonMobil, the American Petroleum Institute, the Charles Koch Foundation, and Southern Company, a utility company that generates most of its power from coal, paid Wie-Hock Soon, a purportedly independent contrarian climate scientist of the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics, more than $1.2 million (Union of Concerned Scientists 2015). He failed to disclose this conflict of interest in most of his scientific papers (Gillis and Schwartz 2015). In another example, the Heartland Institute, which hosts conferences and publishes reports denying climate change (see Klein 2014), received $551,500 from ExxonMobil from 1998 to 2005, forty percent of which was designated for climate change projects (Union of Concerned Scientists 2007). Dunlap and Jacques (2013) find that seventy-two percent of climate denial books published from 1980 to 2010 were linked to conservative think tanks (the authors consider the Heartland Institute, Competitive Enterprise Institute, the CATO Institute, and the Marshal Institute some of the leading conservative think tanks behind climate denial).

The fossil fuel industry funded climate denying scientists despite its own sophisticated grasp of climate science since the 1970s (Jerving et al. 2015; Oreskes and Conway 2010; Union of Concerned Scientists 2015). While the entire American Petroleum Institute, with members from nearly every major U.S. and multinational oil and gas company including Exxon, Mobil, Amoco, Phillips, Texaco, Shell, Sunoco, Sohio, and Chevron's

predecessors Standard Oil of California and Gulf Oil, was involved, Exxon led the way (Banerjee 2015). Exxon had the largest and most ambitious climate research program, focused on climate modeling, and was the first fossil fuel company to launch campaigns to cast doubt on climate science and stall greenhouse gas regulations (Banerjee 2015). In recent years, the fossil fuel industry has continued this practice, funding think tanks and scientists, as mentioned above, as well as political campaigns. In California alone, the fossil fuel lobby (composed of a number of companies including Chevron, Phillips 66, Tesoro, ExxonMobil, and AERA Energy) spent over $32 million in the 2015-2016 legislative session (American Lung Association 2016). Alongside its political wrangling to obscure climate science, the industry has been ramping up extraction of especially hard to reach fossil fuels through unconventional techniques.

EXTREME ENERGY EXTRACTION

Extreme energy extraction techniques have spread throughout the world. They are used to extract coal, oil, and gas—all major forms of fossil fuel. In Appalachia in the last few decades, the coal industry has been removing mountain tops, literally, to expose coal seams. In the process of mountaintop-removal (MTR), explosives equivalent to the power of one Hiroshima bomb are detonated each week (Cho 2011). Twenty-storey draglines (huge machines) that can move seven dump trucks worth of soil per scoop then remove the mountain (Perks 2009). More than 502 peaks have been leveled—an area about the size of Delaware (Perks 2009). Two thousand miles of Appalachian headwater streams have been buried (U.S. EPA 2011). While federal law requires that these sites be restored following

extraction, such a feat is impossible—habitats created over millions of years cannot be "put back." Companies rarely attempt to return the areas to their original surface configuration because they often receive waivers from state agencies with the idea that economic development will occur on the newly flattened land (Appalachian Voices 2013). Yet, eighty-nine percent of MTR mines are not used for economic development beyond forestry or pasture; most previous mine sites remain undeveloped (Geredien 2009).

The scale of extraction of the Alberta tar sands is even larger than MTR. Former director of NASA's Goddard Institute for Space Studies James Hansen has said that if humans were to extract and burn the carbon in the tar sands, it would be "game over for the planet" (Hansen 2012). The Canadian nonprofit organization Environmental Defence deems it "the most destructive project on earth" (Hatch and Price 2008) and Black et al. (2014a) offer a number of websites where, reminiscent of J.R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Ring*s trilogy, a viewer can visualize this "Mordor Landscape" (8). Similar to MTR, tar sands pilot operations have been in progress since the 1960s, with production vastly expanding since the 1990s when the specter of "peak oil" made oil prices sufficiently high to justify this expensive and resource intensive process (Black et al. 2014a).

The tar or oil sands are a crude heavy oil substance called bitumen. The Athabasca River Basin in western Canada contains the world's largest deposit of the substance, which is refined into products like gasoline after extraction. It can be extracted through surface mining —where the bitumen is excavated—and through the energy intensive process of "in-situ" mining (Union of Concerned Scientists n.d.).[16] Used for extracting deep deposits of bitumen,

[16] See http://www.ucsusa.org/sites/default/files/images/2016/02/vehicles-fuels-extracting-tar-sands.jpg for a depiction of the difference.

which comprise eighty percent of reserves, in-situ mining uses steam, injected under high pressure, to liquefy the bitumen so that it can be extracted (Union of Concerned Scientists n.d.). Waste water from the process—quantities of three to five cubic meters for every cubic meter of extracted bitumen—are stored in tailings ponds so large they can be seen from outer space[17] (Black et al. 2014a:9). The 2013 annual carbon emissions from the extraction and burning of bitumen in Alberta were estimated to be more than the combined emissions of 100 nations (Saxifrage 2013). Added to this are methane emission from tailings ponds and carbon emissions released from the destruction of peatland (Black et al. 2014a:15). Through energy used for mining and refining, and the landscape changes that go along with these processes, tar sands extraction has tremendous impacts on local environments and the climate.

Hydraulic fracturing or "fracking" is the most recently contested form of extreme extraction. In the last fifteen years (see Table 1), also in response to higher oil and gas prices and technological advancements (Brown and Yucel 2013), fracking has boomed across the United States (U.S. Energy Information Administration 2016a; U.S. Energy Information Administration 2016e). In 2000, fracking produced 3.6 billion cubic per day (Bcf/d) of marketed gas, accounting for just seven percent of total U.S. natural gas production; In 2015, fracking produced more than 53 Bcf/d, accounting for sixty-seven percent of total production (U.S. Energy Information Administration 2016a). The percentage of oil produced through fracking in the United States has increased from two percent in 2000 (equivalent to 102,200 barrels per day (b/d) of oil) to about fifty percent (equivalent to 4.3 million b/d) in 2015 (U.S. Energy Information Administration 2016e). Fracking is occurring in twenty-one U.S. states

[17] See http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/energy/2011/12/pictures/111222-canada-oil-sands-satellite-images/#/alberta-tar-oil-sands-satellite-pictures-2011_46161_600x450.jpg

Table 1. Growth of U.S. Oil and Gas Produced with Fracking, 2000 to 2015

Fossil Fuel Type (units)	2000 Quantity Produced Through Fracking (% of total U.S. Production)	2015 Quantity Produced Through Fracking (% of total U.S. Production)
Natural Gas (billion cubic per day, Bcf/d)	3.6 Bcf/d (7%)	53 Bcf/d (67%)
Oil (barrels per day, b/d)	102,200 b/d (2%)	4.3 million b/d (51%)

Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration

and could soon begin in five more (Horn 2016). Exact well counts are difficult to assess and can differ by source as there are no national standards for publishing oil and gas data (Kelso 2015; U.S. EPA 2016a).The most prolific regions for fracking are the Bakken, Eagle Ford, Haynesville, Marcellus, Niobrara, Permian, and Utica formations, which correspond with areas of North Dakota, Montana, Texas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, New York, Colorado, Wyoming, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia (U.S. Energy Information Administration 2017).[18] These regions accounted for ninety-two percent of oil production growth and all natural gas production growth in the United States from 2011 to 2014 (U.S. Energy Information Administration 2017). For example, between 2005 and 2016, North Dakota, which sits atop the Bakken formation, increased its oil production tenfold; seventy percent of this increase occurred from 2011 to 2014 (U.S. Energy Information Administration 2016c). Fracking is also expanding globally. Radetzki and Auilera (2016) estimate that the United States has only seventeen percent of the global shale oil share.

[18] See U.S. Energy Administration (2017) for a map of these regions.

Fracking can be used to extract oil and natural gas from shale (a type of sedimentary rock) and other tight rock formations and also to improve yield from conventional oil and gas fields (Radetzki and Auilera 2016).

The process of fracking, which can occur in vertical or horizontal wells that can extend over a mile down and a mile horizontally from the well head (FracTracker Alliance 2017), injects large quantities of water, sand, and a chemical slurry to break up the rock formation and allow gas or oil to escape. A congressional report on the chemicals used in fracking by the fourteen leading oil and gas service companies found that the companies used twenty-nine chemicals that were known or possible human carcinogens, regulated under the Safe Drinking Water Act for their risks to human health, or listed as hazardous air pollutants under the Clean Air Act (Committee on Energy and Commerce 2011). These included methanol, ethylene glycol, diesel, xylene, hydrogen chloride/hydrochloric acid, toluene, ethylbenzene, formaldehyde, and sulfuric acid (Committee on Energy and Commerce 2011). During fracking, these chemicals mix with water to produce waste water. In California, where fracking extracts heavy tar-like oil, each hydraulically fractured well produces ten or more gallons of waste water for every gallon of oil produced (Cart 2015b). This water is then injected into the ground, often into aquifers with water classified as clean for human consumption (Cart 2015b). In 2016, the United States Environmental Protection Agency released the first nationwide study on the impacts from fracking on U.S. drinking water resources, identifying cases of negative water impacts throughout all stages of the hydraulic fracturing water cycle. It is worth noting that more studies on fracking were published in 2014 than in 2009 to 2012 combined (Concerned Health Professionals of NY and Physicians for Social Responsibility 2016). Infant deaths and birth defects are just two of the emerging

health outcomes correlated with drilling and fracking operations (Concerned Health Professionals of NY and Physicians for Social Responsibility 2016).

By enabling a boom in oil and natural gas production, fracking also exacerbates climate change. Natural gas is often hailed a "bridge fuel" to renewable energy, something that is "cleaner," in terms of greenhouse gas emissions, than coal (Plumer 2014). In terms of carbon dioxide, it is cleaner, emitting half as much carbon as coal when burned. Focusing on carbon dioxide, however, misses the whole picture (McKibben 2016b). Natural gas is mostly composed of methane. When not burned, methane traps heat in the atmosphere much more efficiently than carbon dioxide. Unlike carbon dioxide, which lasts centuries, methane lasts just one or two decades. Over one or two decades however, it is between 86 and 105 times more potent as a heat-trapping greenhouse gas than carbon dioxide (McKibben 2016b). Horrifyingly, U.S. methane emissions increased by more than thirty percent over the 2002 to 2014 period (Turner et al. 2016), largely as a result of the simultaneous boom in the fracking industry (McKibben 2016b). For as Howarth, Santoro, and Ingraffea (2011) find, between 3.6 and 7.9 percent of methane gas from U.S. shale drilling operations escapes into the atmosphere. These authors conclude that shale gas has a greenhouse gas footprint greater than all other fossil fuels—a footprint at least twenty percent greater than coal and perhaps more than twice as great on the twenty-year horizon (Howarth, Santoro, and Ingraffea 2011).

Extreme energy extraction not only contaminates the ground, water, air, and climate; it is also linked to social degradation. MTR results in unstable mountains that can easily slide over homes during heavy rains, and, because of increased mechanization and de-unionization, MTR also portends decreasing employment opportunities and social capital (Bell 2013; Bell 2016; Scott 2010). Fracking increases truck traffic, decreases revenues and

enjoyment from tourism and recreation—because of a destroyed landscape—and creates a boom and bust economy associated with higher crime rates, substance abuse, sexual assault, mental illness, inadequate housing, and overextended public services (Food and Water Watch 2013:4). Farmers face corporate bullying as industry relies on procedural inequities, related to lease negotiation and enforcement, to expand extraction (Malin and DeMaster 2016). Relative to unfracked counties, fracked counties in Pennsylvania—atop the Marcellus Shale—have had substantial increases in truck crashes (some of which spill frack water into surface water), in disorderly conduct arrests, and in cases of sexually transmitted diseases (Food and Water Watch 2013). Social disorder crimes increase because socially isolated oil and gas workers have "ample income and little to occupy their time in rural communities," with many turning to alcohol (Food and Water Watch 2013:7). In parallel to Pennsylvania, in North Dakota, rates of domestic violence have increased and local women report feeling unsafe as a result of fracking "man camps" filled with young men from other states; North Dakota now has the third highest male to female ratio in the United States (Eligon 2013). On the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota, Native women have experienced exponentially increasing rates of violence linked to fracking man camps (Honor the Earth n.d.).

Gender-based violence related to man camps exists in the tar sands region as well (Awâsis 2014; Thomas-Muller 2014), where the land and animals that shape First Nations' cultural identities has been decimated. Animals that First Nations depend on for food have heightened levels of arsenic, cadmium, mercury, selenium, and polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (PAHs) (McLachlan 2014). As Lucas (2004) demonstrates, toxins that build up in animals become even more concentrated in humans who eat the animals. Some First

Nations people have stopped eating their traditional foods and drinking from traditional water sources for fear of contamination (Lameman 2014; McLachlan 2014). They then must rely on store-bought foods that offer lower nutritional value. Their fears are well founded. McLachlan (2014) found that twenty of ninety-four participants in a health study downstream of the tar sands had experienced cancer. He concluded that cancer occurrence increased with consumption of traditional food and locally caught fish and with employment in the tar sands. As with the Dakota Access Pipeline (Whyte 2017), the extraction of tar sands goes against treaty rights of First Nations communities (Awâsis 2014; Lameman 2014). For example, the Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation have charged that Shell Oil's mining of the tar sands violates the 1899 Treaty 8, between First Nations in northern Alberta and Queen Victoria, that protected their right to practice traditional lifeways (Moe 2012). The treaties violated by the Enbridge Line 9 pipeline to transport tar sands, under challenge by First Nations (Bueckert 2016), include the Nanfan Treaty, Kaswentha, the Great Peace of Montreal Treaty, the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the 24 Nations Treaty of 1764, and the Haldimand Proclamation (Awâsis 2014). By challenging treaty violations, First Nations can pursue some of the potentially most powerful legal avenues to stop tar sands projects (see Black et al. 2014b).

Transportation of extreme energy has also spurred resistance. The Keystone XL Pipeline was an important catalyst for the climate justice movement in the United States (Russell et al. 2014). Slated to transport tar sands from Alberta, Canada through the center of the United States to refineries on the Gulf Coast, it met opposition from a diverse array of environmentalists, landowners, and tribal communities along its proposed route. Over two weeks in 2011, 1,250 people were arrested in front of the White House protesting the

pipeline. This demonstration joined countless local protests that occurred across the country until, in November 2015, President Obama rejected the northern leg of the pipeline. This was a major victory for many members of the movement, despite the fact that in 2012, Obama had fast-tracked the southern leg of the pipeline through Texas and Oklahoma (see Foytlin et al. 2014).

In the midst of the Keystone XL struggle, the oil industry turned to railways to get its product to global markets. In doing so, it created what activists call "bomb trains." A national phenomenon, the transportation of oil by rail grew 4,200 percent between 2008 and 2013 (Association of American Railroads 2014). Matching this trend were increases in explosions. In Quebec in 2013, a wreck decimated the small town of Lac-Megantic and killed forty-seven people. Major accidents have occurred in North Dakota (2013), Oklahoma (2008), West Virginia (Feb 2015), Ontario (Feb 2015), Virginia (2014), and Alabama (2013). Rail accidents spilled 800,000 gallons of crude oil from 1975 to 2012, and, in 2013 alone, this same type of accident led to spillage of 1.15 million gallons of crude oil (Warner and Kaine 2014). While opponents of extreme energy have a chance to stop construction of new pipelines that they fear will leak, train tracks are much more plentiful and already serving as pathways for the transportation of dangerous materials through the hearts of communities.

In 2016, a second large-scale pipeline resistance movement rose to meet the Dakota Access Pipeline, built to transport fracked oil from the Bakken Shale Formation in North Dakota to refineries in Illinois. The pipeline, originally slated to run near Bismark, North Dakota, was rerouted to within a mile of the Standing Rock Sioux reservation, despite the Tribe's opposition to pipelines since 2012. The two counties that comprise the Standing Rock reservation have some of the highest poverty rates in the country (U.S. Census Bureau 2016).

The county where Bismark is located has one of the lowest and is majority white. The U.S. Army Corp of Engineers rejected the Bismark route because of the pipeline's potential impact on municipal water supplies (Dalrymple 2016). In a blatant case of environmental racism, a concept I describe below, the pipeline will instead go underneath Lake Oahe, the drinking water source of the Standing Rock Sioux. The lake is within the Sioux's ancestral lands, lands that are legally theirs, according to treaties that the U.S. Government has repeatedly violated (see Whyte 2017). Against this threat, tribal members calling themselves water protectors invited people to their land to occupy the pipeline path and defend the water and ancestral sites in summer 2016.[19]

In the following months, thousands of people flocked to Standing Rock, where they organized living quarters, workshops, distribution of aid, and direct action. They braved dogs, water cannons in freezing temperatures, and the onset of the winter in North Dakota until December 2016 (see 2016a; Goodman 2016). On December 4, after thousands of veterans had arrived at Standing Rock to join the water protectors, the Army Core of Engineers denied an easement to Energy Transfer Partners, the pipeline company, and ordered an environmental impact statement and exploration of alternate routes for the pipeline. On the heels of this victory, and in response to tribal leaders' request for campers to go home, the camp quickly shrunk. Just over a month later, however, on January 24, 2017, newly-elected President Trump signed an executive order restarting the Dakota Access and Keystone XL pipelines. On February 8, 2017, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers gave Energy Transfer Partners an easement to construct the pipeline below Lake Oahe. While the

[19] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4FDuqYld8C8 for a good overview of the water protectors' efforts.

Tribe plans to sue, Energy Transfer Partners can begin drilling immediately. In mid-February, 2017, veterans began returning to Standing Rock to support the water protectors (Democracy Now! 2016b).[20]

These cases of direct action resistance, what Klein (2014) calls blockadia, shape the context in which my interviewees live and organize. Many of my interviewees engaged in resistance to Keystone XL Pipeline before I interviewed them, were engaged in resistance to fracking and oil by rail while I conducted research, and, after I finished conducting interviews, were engaged in resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline. These are the campaigns through which activists are developing values and practices, experimenting, connecting with each other, and learning as they work to address climate change and create climate justice, something I now describe.

CLIMATE JUSTICE: A SOCIAL RESPONSE TO CAPITALISM'S CONTRADICTION

Climate crisis, and the extreme energy extraction that exacerbates it—perhaps alongside nuclear energy—pose the most large-scale threat to civilization in recorded history. The juxtaposition of extreme energy extraction amidst climate crisis also clarifies a contradiction inherent to capitalism. Endless growth is not compatible with a livable physical environment just as extreme energy extraction is not compatible with the implications of climate science––that greenhouse gas emissions must decrease. Climate crisis, then, is a symptom of capitalism in crisis (Clark and York 2005; Foster, Clark, and York 2010; Klein 2014). As the

[20] For more information and updates about the pipeline see http://sacredstonecamp.org/ and https://www.democracynow.org/topics/dakota_access/.

fossil fuel industry continues its work to increase profits through geographical expansion (both on and below the surface of the earth), it decreases the capacity of the earth to sustain capital or labor. A stark example is Arctic oil drilling,[21] which would emit more climate-changing greenhouse gases in the Arctic, now accessible because of melting sea ice (see Rosenthal 2012). As the fossil fuel industry expands exploitation of fossil fuels in the Arctic and elsewhere, it exacerbates climate change, which will eventually endanger the very societies that purchase fossil fuels, and the consumers upon which fossil fuel companies (and capitalism) depend. Understanding that solutions to climate change that are socially just and ecologically sustainable require something other than capitalism is a core principle of climate justice.

The Philosophy of Climate Justice

Climate justice demystifies climate change by getting at its roots. Radical then, in the way Karl Marx used the term,[22] climate justice identifies the root causes of climate change as capitalist social relations, relations of inequality that exploit people and the environment to accumulate profit for a few.

[21] While Shell and ConocoPhillips relinquished Arctic drilling leases in 2016, due to "the unpredictable federal regulatory environment" (Shell quoted in Neuhauser 2016) and, likely, intense protest by kayaktivists in 2015 (see Brait 2015), the Trump administration is pursuing Arctic drilling as part of its America First Energy Plan (Gramer 2017).

[22] "To be radical is to grasp things by the root" (Marx [1844] 1978:60).

The concept was created by coalitions of individuals and organizations at global meetings.[23] Intimately sociological in its clarification of the interconnections between different structures of inequality, climate justice recognizes that social justice requires a livable world and a livable world can only emerge through social justice. Climate justice centers anti-racist environmentalism, system transformation, the notion of ecological debt—that the Global North owes a debt to the Global South for its disproportionate contributions to climate change—and a challenge to corporations (Bond 2014).[24] Climate justice seeks to address not only current injustices, but also those of the past. Enshrined in the phrase "common but differentiated responsibilities" (United Nations 1992), past injustices refer to the Global North's disproportionate use of the carbon budget—the amount of carbon that can be released into the atmosphere while staying beneath the United Nations threshold of two degrees Celsius (McKibben 2012)—to industrialize. For example, the United States and European Union emitted fifty-two percent of the world's total carbon dioxide emissions from 1850 to 2011 (World Resources Institute 2014).

Extreme energy extraction is a clear environmental and climate justice problem. Corporations that perpetuate extreme energy extraction remain profitable by effectively drafting the regulations—in 2005, Halliburton successfully lobbied for fracking to be exempt from the Safe Drinking Water Act of 1974—and by externalizing the consequences and costs of putting chemicals and greenhouse gases into the environment, especially upon marginalized local and global communities. Fracking operations are made possible through

[23] In 2002, a coalition of organizations drafted the Bali Principles of Climate Justice in preparation for the World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg, South Africa in 2002.

[24] See Bond (2014) for an excellent discussion of the concept and movement.

the use of carcinogenic chemicals that corporations do not have to disclose to regulators or the public because they are considered trade secrets (Committee on Energy and Commerce 2011). As extreme energy procedures contaminate water supplies (Cart 2015b) and negatively affect the health of local residents, especially children (McKenzie et al. 2014), they simultaneously exacerbate climate change, through their greenhouse gas emission intensive operations and through their perpetuation of an energy system dominated by fossil fuels.

The interconnections of injustice, extreme energy extraction, and climate change have been spreading geographically. The fossil fuel industry's search for more reserves has multiplied the number of places where fossil fuel extraction is either planned, or beginning. Some of these places exemplify environmental racism, where people of color are targeted for and experience the highest rates of environmental degradation. For example, Kern County, California, a forty-nine percent Latino county (2010 U.S. Census) has the highest oil and gas well count of any county in the United States—77,497 active wells (Kelso 2015). In California, school districts with greater Latinx and non-white student enrollment are more likely to contain more oil and gas drilling and well stimulation (Ferrar 2014). California students attending school within one mile of oil and gas wells are 79.6 percent non-white (Ferrar 2014). However, fracking also occurs in predominantly white communities (e.g. areas of North Dakota, Pennsylvania). Places of extraction even creep near the upper class, as when a fracking water tower was to be constructed near the home of the present U.S. Secretary of State, Rex Tillerson, Exxon's former CEO, who joined a lawsuit in 2013 to prevent it (Gilbert 2014). The geographical expansion of the experience of fossil fuel extraction multiplies globally through the climate-changing effects of burning these fuels.

Even people without extraction occurring near them experience the negative effects of extraction in the form of a changing climate.

The geographical expansiveness of fossil fuel extraction is an important factor in community resistance, what Klein (2014) calls "blockadia." Blockadia refers to the ever more interconnected resistance to environmental and social injustices that is facilitated by the geographic scope of socially and environmentally damaging fossil fuel infrastructures, new technologies of communication, and increasing recognition, on the part of social movements, of their shared targets and goals (Klein 2014). The fossil fuel industry's expansiveness gives protesters many targets. Protesters connect their resistance to sites of extraction and refining, to climate change, and to pipelines, natural gas wells, and fossil fuel transportation by rail, truck, and ship. These elements can be seen as part of a vast fossil fuel industry web, connecting affected communities. The reality of the breadth of fossil fuel-related injustice and protest moves opponents toward a justice perspective, from not in my back yard (NIMBY) to never in or under[25] anyone's backyard (NIAMBY or NIUABY), creating novel conditions for resistance to extreme energy extraction.[26]

[25] Stacia Sydoriak added not *under* my back yard (NUMBY) to these perspectives (personal communication with Peter Hall).

[26] Boudet (2011) documents transitions from NIMBY to NIAMBY in resistance to liquefied natural gas in the Gulf and West coasts of the United States. Others argue that NIMBYism is an important form of "place-protective action" (Devine-Wright 2009), a valid starting point for escalated action (D'Arcy 2014; Awâsis2014), and a form of action that is often denigrated because it goes against the tyranny of the majority (Ashwood and MacTavish 2016). Vandehey (2013) argues that NIMBYism, as a way of asserting "local control over outside forces, ... refocusing ... citizenship on a local level... [and] working to maintain the values and goals of a community" (249), holds a potential to help communities transition to clean energy.

Resistance to extreme energy in the anthropocene[27] not only has a global character, but also many local sites. As with the substances responsible for environmental injustice (e.g. polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), lead), the substance in question, hydrocarbons, is abundant in society and everyday life. Their extraction with today's intensive techniques worsens conditions in already sacrificed zones, areas of the world whose sacrifice, in terms of environmental and social destruction, enables the lifestyle of others (Bell 2014; Fox 1999; Scott 2010), and threatens spaces previously little altered by humans, like the Athabasca river basin in Alberta, Canada. For all of these reasons, extreme energy extraction holds potential for uniting diverse constituencies in resistance. It presents an opportunity for studying how people work across spaces, identities, and issues to defend their communities in the face of climate change.

As a new term and movement, climate justice has a long lineage in other struggles. Moore and Russell (2011:21) depict climate justice as a river with many tributaries coming from people's movements in the global south; the global justice/anti-globalization movement; community-based action campaigns; indigenous movements; declarations from social forums, U.N. summits, and other gatherings; and the North American environmental justice movement. A component of many of these movements, I also identify ecofeminism as an important tributary. Two elements of climate justice that are most salient in my research come from the environmental justice and ecofeminist traditions. These are leadership by and solidarity with those most affected by environmental and climate harms (environmental

[27] Crutzen and Stoermer (2000) propose the term "anthropocene" for the current geological epoch to emphasize "the central role of mankind in geology and ecology" (17). They locate the beginning of the anthropocene in the late 1700s. This coincides with the invention of the steam engine, after which point data from glacial ice cores show a growth in concentrations of greenhouse gases.

justice), and intersectional feminist thinking and action that value co-dependence and prioritize respect for all beings, human and more-than-human (ecofeminist traditions).

Environmental Justice

Environmental justice is "the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income, with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies" (U.S. EPA 2017). It is grounded in the fact that environmental injustice is a broad empirical trend, demands people who experience environmental injustice have a meaningful say in what to do about it, and urges a more expansive understanding of the environment. These perspectives help deepen sociological imaginations, people's capacity to realize that their personal troubles are actually social issues (Mills 1959), and are central to the philosophy of climate justice.

The North American environmental justice movement and field of scholarship emerged in the 1980s. In 1987, the report *Toxic Wastes and Race* by the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice demonstrated the link between toxic pollution and race. The report found that three out of every five Black and Latinx Americans lived in communities with uncontrolled toxic waste sites and that race was the most important factor in determining whether a person lived next to one of these sites. This link became known as environmental racism and has been documented again and again in the United States and globally (cf. Black et al. 2014b; Bullard et al. 2007; Eligon 2016; Washington, Rosier, and

Goodall 2006).[28] Since the 1980s, scholars have also uncovered how class, rurality, gender, and sexuality, and the configurations of these structures of privilege and marginalization, are linked to environmental injustice (cf. Ashwood and MacTavish 2016b; Bell 2013; Bell 2016; LaDuke 1999; Pellow 2002; Pellow 2005; Stein 2004). This body of work informs the inclusion of environmental justice in the work of the United States Environmental Protection Agency and other government agencies.

The definition of environment is another important feature of this paradigm. The environmental justice movement conceptualizes environment as where we live, work, and play, broadening its scope from the outside physical world to one that includes the built environment. It therefore demands that all spaces that people and other living creatures occupy be safe. To link this to climate justice, the same toxic chemicals (e.g. PCBs) and materials (e.g. uranium) that make environments unsafe also either contribute directly to climate change as greenhouse gases, enable the perpetuation of carbon-intensive systems of production, consumption, and profits, or destroy the capacity of the organic world to complete natural climate balancing processes.

The environmental justice framework's emphasis on "meaningful involvement" parallels development frameworks that protect communities' rights to determine their own futures and how changes are implemented. One example on the global level is the right to free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) of indigenous communities facing development projects, recognized in the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Meaningful involvement in decision-making over projects that affect not only the

[28] Bullard et al. find that *Toxic Wastes and Race* underestimated the racial and socioeconomic disparities around U.S. hazardous waste facilities (2007:38).

physical environment, but also the social and cultural practices tied to places where we live, work, and play, is a cornerstone of environmental justice that activists sought in each of my research sites.

Ecofeminism

By recognizing and addressing the shared systematic oppression of women and the environment, ecofeminism clarifies the social structures responsible for marginalization more generally. Its central contribution to climate justice is that it provides a framework for thinking about social systems and environmental issues that prioritizes "intersectionality" (Crenshaw 1989), the idea that the intersection of environment, species, and identities, or the fluid "configuration" of these (Bhavnani and Bywater 2009), shapes human and more-than-humans' lived experiences of privilege and oppression.[29] Though lacking a species perspective,[30] McClintock's explanation of this idea is helpful: "race, gender and class are not distinct realms of experience, existing in splendid isolation from each other; nor can they be simply yoked together retrospectively ... they come into existence *in and through* relation to each other—if in contradictory and conflictual ways" (1995:5). Ecofeminism's use of configurations to identify how different identities interact to inform individuals' lived experience of environments provides an important corrective to environmental and climate justice frameworks, which have tended to marginalize women and gender, as well as other

[29] I agree with Bhavnani and Bywater (2009) that "configurations" is a more appropriate descriptor of how identities are related. As they stress, configurations connotes movement, fluidity, and agency. However, "intersectionality" is a very popular concept among activists.

[30] See Adams (1996), Dunayer (1995), and Gaard (2011) for ecofeminist critiques of speciesism, or the view that animals are inferior to humans.

social, species (Stein 2004), and spatial identities (Ashwood and MacTavish 2016a),[31] focusing predominantly on race and class. Therefore, it furthers these movements' work to envision and create a truly inclusive and sustainable world for people, animals, and plants. Though ecofeminism waned in popularity after the 1990s because of critiques that it essentialized women's relationship with nature, these critiques failed to acknowledge the diversity of ecofeminisms (Gaard 2011) and ecofeminism's value as a framework for identifying shared goals for social change (Godfrey 2005). Gaard (2011) and Godfrey (2005) argue for reviving ecofeminism as a scholarly and activist pursuit, whose grounding in local material contexts and capacity for illuminating shared roots of injustice can inform paths forward for marginalized human and more-than-human communities. I echo their call.

Ecofeminist-oriented perspectives, a term I use to describe justice-oriented conceptualizations of relationships among gender, other social categories, and environments,[32] are also important for clarifying exactly why and how environmental and climate injustice are unjust. Across social categories of race, class, nation, and sexuality, women hold less political and economic power than men (World Economic Forum 2016). Through focusing on women, and not only how women are affected by, but also how they wield power over their environments—whether these be built, organic, or conceptual—ecofeminist insights shed light on conditions and solutions that characterize the experience of marginalized communities more generally. The idea is that the paths to creating justice for

[31] See *Journal of Rural Studies* (2016) special issue 47, Part A for a compilation of articles focused on how rurality informs environmental justice.

[32] Some of these include feminist environmentalism (Agarwal 1992), feminist political ecology (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter and Wangari 1996), global feminist environmental justice (Sturgeon 2009), queer ecology (Mortimer-Sandilands and Erickson 2010), and ecofeminist climate justice (Gaard 2015).

the most marginalized communities are paths that will create justice for everyone. I now detail some of these gendered conditions and solutions as background on the relationships between environment and society that climate justice, as a theory and practice, responds to and leverages.

Gender inequalities in the social construction of environment and climate change are evidenced by the masculinized focus on security (energy security, security against climate refugees) (see Dankelman 2010b) and science that dominates understanding of environment/climate problems and proposed solutions (MacGregor 2010). These same logics shape racist immigration policies, like President Trump's attempt to ban or restrict immigration by people from six majority Muslim countries in the name of national security.[33] The ban includes a 120-day freeze on immigration of refugees from Syria, where climate change contributed to the country's civil war and resulting refugee crisis (Gleick 2014). Masculinist concerns about energy security also inform governments' continual violation of treaty rights when building pipelines and other infrastructure across indigenous land (Whyte 2017). Within this masculinization, women's concerns (and the concerns of any other marginalized community) are trumped in the pursuit of technology and economic efficiency (MacGregor 2010; Seager 2009).

Gender inequalities also characterize the consequences of environmental and climate change. Women are the majority of the world's poor (Oxfam 2017). This global feminization of poverty means that women are more vulnerable to natural disasters and have fewer resources (material, legal, and political) to deal with the effects of climate change and

[33] The first version of the ban went into effect in January 2017, but was then blocked by a federal appeals court. The current ban went into effect on March 6, 2017. It, too, has been challenged.

environmental degradation (see Dankelman 2010a; Oxfam 2017; WEDO 2008 for examples and statistics). The gendered division of labor, in which women are responsible for providing family and community with food, water, and care, also affects how women experience and respond to environmental/climate change. Climate change increases the amount of time women must spend gathering fuel and water, makes their work to produce the majority of the world's food more unpredictable, and increases the health and other kinds of care they must perform with climate change-exacerbated disease and natural disasters (Dankelman 2010a).

Along with these gendered experiences of environment/climate, are gendered perceptions of risk.[34] Women are generally more concerned with and feel more responsible for environmental quality (Hunter, Hatch, and Johnson 2004; Terry 2009; Zelezny, Chua, and Aldrich 2000). They are both more knowledgeable and more concerned about climate change (McCright 2010) and more likely to oppose fracking (Boudet et al. 2014). At the state level, more egalitarian views about gender have been found to be associated with more progressive environmental policies (Norgaard and York 2005) and countries where women have higher political status have lower CO_2 emissions per capita (Ergas and York 2012).

Finally, gender informs responses to environmental and climate change. Women are the majority of members in the environmental justice movement (Stein 2004), comprising an estimated sixty to eighty percent of grassroots activists (Bell and Braun 2010; Seager 1996). They have been leaders in struggles against mountaintop-removal mining, tar sands extraction, the Keystone XL and Dakota Access Pipelines, and fracking (Bell and Braun 2010; Bell 2013; Foytlin et al. 2014; Scott 2012; Thomas-Muller 2014; Whyte 2017).

[34] See McCright (2010) and Davidson and Haan (2012) for reviews of the literature on gender and environmental concern.

Women environmental justice activists have many motivations, including health (see Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari 1996; Stein 2004), cultural preservation (Prindeville 2004), and outrage about environmental damages suffered by neighbors or about being excluded from government processes (Perkins 2012).

Women's social roles as caretakers inform their feeling of environmental duty as mothers or protectors and can facilitate their activism in gender specific ways (Bell 2013). For example, in their study of activism against mountaintop-removal coal mining, Bell and Braun (2010) find that women draw on their identities as mothers (see Bellows (1996) for parallels with Polish activists) and Appalachians to justify their environmental justice activism. In contrast, Bell and Braun (2010) argue that hegemonic masculinity in Appalachia, because of its association with working for the coal industry, makes environmental justice activism more difficult for men. The coal industry is the primary employer of men in the region, who are wary of openly challenging its practices for fear of losing their jobs (Bell and Braun 2010) and their sense of masculinity, which has long been tied to working in the coal mines (Bell and York 2010; Scott 2010). Hutner (2012) notes similar activism-inhibiting ties to industry for men in post-Fukushima Japan. Hegemonic, or emphasized femininity—the normative form of femininity held up as a model of womanhood (Connell 1987) and associated with motherhood in these regions—was more compatible with activism in both cases. In sum, the "glorious tangle of production and reproduction" (Bhavnani, Foran, and Kurian 2003a:8) that characterizes women's lives informs their activism, which is often based on building community networks (Agarwal 2000; Naples 1992), performing the reproductive labor of movements (Campbell 1996; Miller, Hallstein, and Quass 1996), and multitasking to accomplish activist duties alongside household chores (Brú-Bistuer 1996;

Seager 1996). The experiences of women in my research, who make up half or the majority of leaders and members of the groups I worked with, resonate with these other cases.

By grounding its pursuits in the experiences and expertise of people who are most affected by environmental and climate change, and understanding that those people have complex configurations of identity that differentially inform their lives, ecofeminism provides a springboard for understanding and working to address all forms of injustice. It moves beyond environmental and climate justice through centering women's role in social change, which is particularly disproportionate at the grassroots level in my own and others' research (Bell 2013; Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari 1996). Understanding how women of different identities are differently affected by and respond to climate crisis is an important first step to understanding how the most marginalized members of any community will experience climate crisis. Ecofeminism is, therefore, an important scholarly tradition and social movement for climate justice.

The Practice of Climate Justice

The Climate Justice Movement

Social movements are "moments of collective creation that provide societies with ideas, identities, and even ideals" (Eyerman and Jamison 1991:4); they create meaning or cognitive space for new kinds of ideas and relationships to develop (Eyerman and Jamison 1991:60). As Escobar (1992), Kelley (2002), and Pellow (2014) have all emphasized, the task of social movements is to "construct collective imaginaries capable of orienting social and political action" and "alternative visions of democracy, economy, and society" (Escobar 1992: 41,

22). The climate justice movement, a broad coalition of organizations and individuals, emerged in the 2000s as a fracturing of the climate movement—civil society organizations that had spent much of their energy lobbying in the context of the yearly UN climate negotiations. In this period, the climate movement had suffered major defeats when the Copenhagen climate negotiations and U.S. cap and trade legislation both failed in 2009. In Copenhagen, instead of a global climate treaty, activists walked away with a two-page "accord." The UN's lack of progress in addressing climate change led members of civil society to begin to change how they framed their movement from a climate movement, to a climate justice movement (della Porta and Parks 2014). In contrast to "climate," "climate justice," as a frame—a way that social movements describe the problems they face, the solutions they propose, and why people should get involved (Goffman 1974; Snow et al. 1986)—builds bridges between people and movements primarily focused on the environment and those primarily focused on social issues like social justice and anti-war (della Porta and Parks 2014). It is a way of understanding climate change as a crisis of societal relationships with nature, while comprehending that the solution is comprehensive system change (Bedall and Görg 2014). The climate crisis will not be resolved solely with a focus on technical goals, like numbers, and reforming institutions. Technical and reform-oriented goals are core elements of strategies put forth by mainstream elements of the climate movement. For the climate justice movement, addressing climate crisis requires radical social change, defined as "a deep transformation of a society (or other entity such as a community, region, or the whole world) in the direction of greater economic [, racial, gender, sexual] equality and political participation, accomplished by the actions of a strong and diverse popular movement" (Foran 2016b). The heart of the movement, therefore, is in the more radical branches of the climate

movement—groups such as Rising Tide (http://risingtidenorthamerica.org/) and the Climate Camps (see Bergman 2014), which engage in direct action, are explicitly anti-capitalist, and focus on solidarity.

While the climate justice movement first began mobilizing around UN negotiations, after Copenhagen it increasingly set its sights on local mobilization. One of its most common tactics is to organize days of action where communities around the world take part and share photos of their actions with each other. 350.org is one organization that often publicizes these days and posts the photos that result. The movement also, however, has been mobilizing more centralized large-scale actions, such as the 400,000-person 2014 People's Climate March in New York City. In 2016, there were major direct actions to disrupt fossil fuel infrastructure in twelve countries on six continents as part of an action called "Break Free from Fossil Fuels" (https://breakfree2016.org/#). In 2017, there was the People's Climate Mobilization march in April in Washington D.C., with 200,000 participants. There have also been countless efforts at the regional and community level to ban extreme energy, resist polluting power plants, set greenhouse gas emissions limits, and divest institutions from fossil fuels. Unlike the UN negotiations, these local actions are in line with the value the movement places on democracy and horizontal organizing. As Müller and Walk (2014) point out, the UN negotiations are inherently undemocratic, allowing a small number of negotiators from around the world to make decisions (or fail to make decisions) about climate change. In these writers' view, the civil society organizations that have a place (though increasingly restricted) at the UN negotiating table are made up of professionalized and resource-rich people who are not representative of Earth citizens. At the international and EU level, the NGOs with influence are those that see eye to eye with governments (Müeller and Walk

2014:39)—there is no room for contestation, an essential element of democracy. There is also little room for understanding many aspects of climate policy because of the excessively technical language, which even experts find "barely comprehensible" (Müeller and Walk 2014:39). These features of the UN system have contributed to the movement's refocus on local campaigns.

The local campaigns include topics as wide ranging as climate justice, pipelines, fossil fuel divestment, oil trains, anti-extraction, and renewable energy. Motivations are also varied. For example, the fight against the Keystone XL pipeline had spokespeople and participants including former director of NASA's Goddard Institute for Space Studies James Hansen, whose book *Storms of my Grandchildren* (2009) roots his primary motivation in climate change, and Bold Nebraska, a coalition of ranchers, farmers, and tribes along the pipeline route working to defend land, water, and property. As one reporter wrote: "it's one of the distinctive features of the anti-pipeline movement that no two activists are fighting for quite the same thing" (Brown 2016), except to stop the pipeline.

In light of this movement's increasing visibility and power—the 2014 People's Climate March was the largest climate march in history—and the increasing severity of climate change, there is much work to do to improve the efficacy of the climate justice movement and the scholarship which illuminates its work. Most existing academic research analyzes the climate justice movement at the annual UN negotiations (e.g. Bedall and Görg 2014; De Lucia 2014; della Porta and Parks 2014; Foran and Widick 2013; Müller and Walk 2014). Attention to the local could therefore broaden understanding of the movement's manifestations in different contexts and deepen understandings of non-UN targets, tactics, and strategies. Related to this, research in local contexts can clarify how the movement works

within and across local and global scales, organizations, and issues—how its members build coalitions. Bond (2014) and Harlan et al. (2015) both underline this as an important area for research. Bond (2014) argues that movements for climate justice can enhance their political efficacy by working to unite fragmentations and divisions in the larger movement, improve connectivity between organizations, increase the representation of youth, name "an environmentally voracious capitalism" as the problem and global-scale socialism as a solution, be gender conscious, and enhance respect for the interlocking oppressions and resistances in the movement. Harlan et al. (2015) echo his words, calling on social scientists to broaden understanding of the barriers the climate justice movement faces, coalition partners that will be key for its success, and opportunities and challenges for transnational organizing against fossil fuel corporations. Their work is part of a larger call for greater understanding of the social dimensions of climate change (Dunlap and Brulle 2015) and energy (Sovacool 2014), and for research that goes beyond the focus on individual actions and inability to think outside of current social systems that characterizes the majority of climate change research (Brulle and Dunlap 2015). To this end, I examine how people and groups within the climate justice movement work together to resist local extreme energy extraction and to imagine and create a just and sustainable world. Social movement scholarship's insights into these questions—how movements try to grow and make people feel part of a movement—helps frame my analysis.

Movement Building

"To Change Everything, We Need Everyone" is a slogan that the climate justice movement has taken up in recent years. It is the headline of the website for the 2014 People's Climate March (http://2014.peoplesclimate.org/). The 2017 People's Climate Mobilization website is even clearer in its commitment to intersectional thinking and action on climate justice. It ties climate change to jobs, justice, resistance and creating a different future. The page reads:

> We Resist.
> We Build.
> We Rise.
> March for jobs, justice and the climate.

The website bills the event as "a powerful mobilization to unite all of our movements" (https://peoplesclimate.org/). In its work to unite movements and to engage and include everyone, the climate justice movement prioritizes what activists and scholars call "movement building." Juris et al. (2014) highlight movement building as an intentionally desired outcome of the U.S. Social Forum, defined as "the creation of movement infrastructures required for sustained organizing and mobilization, including social relationships, organizational networks and capacity, affective solidarity, as well as movement-related identities, frames, strategies, skills, and leadership" (329). Movement building is an outcome, just as legal victories or policy changes can be outcomes, of social movements. In other words, social movements can have goals related to movement building, and therefore, may succeed in movement building alongside successes, or failures, in policy or legal change. Movement building's micro-level dynamics have received less attention than other topics in social movement studies, especially at the grassroots level and in comparative contexts (Blee 2012; Juris et al. 2014). The goal of movement building resonates with

Pellow's (2016a) critique of the focus by the environmental justice movement and scholarship on inclusion, procedural equity, and recognition in relation to the state. As he argues,

> [I]f we are to take seriously the task of opposing authoritarianism, patriarchy, racism, and human dominance over nonhuman natures, then we must also accept that modern states were founded on sustaining those very hierarchies and practices, so any engagement with states with the aim of achieving environmental justice will likely yield limited results at best (385).

Rather than focusing on securing movement actors a seat at the table with the state, or a win within the context of legal systems (which many movements do alongside movement building), movement building focuses on social movements as spaces with revolutionary potential. Movement building is about ensuring everyone has a seat at movement tables to envision, together, a different world. In movement practices, movement actors even work to realize their visions in the present, to "prefigure" the world they want to see (see Boggs 1977-78; Breines 1982; Maeckelbergh 2011; Polletta 2002).[35] My research enhances understanding of two components of movement building—collective identity and coalition building.

Collective identity refers to activists' shared understandings of the context in which they organize and their plans of action. Alberto Melucci (1989) identifies three interwoven processes of collective identity: constructing cognitive frameworks, activating relationships, and making emotional investments. Cognitive frameworks are activists' shared understandings of their goals, means, and environments of action—what they hope to do, how they will do it, and what context they are working in. Activists construct relationships

[35] Breines notes that prefigurative politics can mean building community, something she saw in the case of the New Left. Building community meant creating a "sense of wholeness and communication in social relations" and "the effort to create non-capitalist and communitarian institutions that embodied such relationships, for example counter-institutions" (1982:7).

through communication, negotiations, and decision-making. Their emotional investments in relationships enable them to empathize and feel a sense of solidarity with each other. In other words, collective identity is the name social movement scholars have developed for how "actors 'organize' their behavior, produce meanings and actively establish relationships" (Melucci 1989:36). Melucci's conceptualization resonates most closely with my research because of its focus on relationships and because of its understanding of collective identity as a constantly changing process, rather than a static definition. In her analysis of feminist mobilizations in Spain, María Martínez (forthcoming) likewise argues that collective identity is best understood as a complex and unfinished process, grounded in emotions and relationships that people activate and transform repeatedly over time.

Collective identity is particularly important for the environmental and climate justice movements. Shannon Bell (2016) demonstrates that what people perceive as the collective identity of the environmental justice movement has actually deterred people on the front lines of MTR coal mining (who, for example, suffer health effects related to coal mining) from participating in environmental justice organizations. They do not identify with those who identify themselves as environmental justice activists. This is troubling for the environmental and climate justice movements because a central tenet of both is that their efforts should be led by the people most affected by climate change or environmental degradation. This is because, in line with ecofeminism, the people experiencing the highest levels of oppression have insights that are critical to designing paths toward justice. In Crenshaw's words, the goal of movements for justice "should be to facilitate the inclusion of marginalized groups for whom it can be said: 'When they enter, we all enter'" (1989:167). Understanding ways to create collective identities that resonate with broad bases of people, especially those on the

front lines of climate change and energy extraction, is critical to achieving the goal of building a movement of "everyone" to change everything.

A second core component of movement building, something upon which a broad-based movement depends, is coalition building. Coalition building is the formation of relationships among people and across organizations. These relationships facilitate people's capacity to draw on material and social resources. They also broaden the scope of issues, perspectives, strategies, and tactics that inform social movements' actions. According to Van Dyke and McCammon (2010), research into social movement coalitions is relatively new. Their edited collection *Strategic Alliances* works to advance the field, focusing on how social networks, ideology, and social and political contexts inform coalition emergence. My work complements these efforts by enhancing understanding of the characteristics of *effective* coalitions. Rather than asking why they emerge, I explore how they work well, or do not, arguing that effective coalitions are intentionally constructed through the learning, labor, and creativity of activists. I examine coalitions both within and between five movement sectors that Juris et al. (2014) identify:

1. nongovernmental organizations,
2. national networks,
3. informal and direct action collectives,
4. national member organizations, and
5. grassroots groups.

In the context of the U.S. Social Forum, which defines itself as a movement-building process and "space to come up with the peoples' solutions to the economic and ecological crisis" (U.S. Social Forum 2017), Juris et al. (2014) find little collaboration between these sectors,

underlining cross-sector coalition building as a priority for realizing a broad-based movement.

A final insight on social movements that I want to highlight comes from scholarship focused on feminist movements and movements composed of women. This scholarship documents how relationships are a core component of women's organizing. Taylor and Whittier (1992) highlight how activists, lesbian feminists in their case, emphasize the development of "female" values that see women's nature as nurturing and cooperative. They argue that building a women's culture guided by these values was an important way lesbian feminists differentiated their movement from male domination, thereby creating a sense of collective identity.[36] Naples (1998) found that women community workers, employed during the War on Poverty to work for social and economic justice in low-income neighborhoods, placed high value on their daily interactions with community members. Relationships were an important feature shaping their commitment to their work. Many women environmental justice activists have centered these feminine-coded concerns that Taylor and Whittier (1992) and Naples (1998) document (Stein 2004). As Brown and Ferguson (1995:152), explain, "activists claims arise from their experiences as people in relationships." Drawing from their study of women's toxic waste activism, they expand:

> We suggest that given social and material constraints that largely stem from gender and class, these activists find creative and effective ways to generate change in their communities. These creative forms grow out of a self-articulated ethic of responsibility and connection. In addition to clearly voicing a call to action based on justice, women toxic waste activists give credence to their claims based on a belief in the necessity and importance of caring and a recognition of interdependence. They find the actions of nonresponsive polluters and agencies wrong and requiring redress not simply because these actions violate their rights as citizens and members of a

[36] This is one example of how social movements can employ "strategic essentialism" to mobilize participants (see also Godfrey 2005; Hurwitz and Taylor 2012).

> larger polity, but also because these actions violate a moral imperative of caring and responsibility (154).

These examples highlight the presence and effect of feminist and women's ethics and practices within social movements.[37] Values of interdependence, relationships, cooperation, care, and responsibility, when paired with work to prevent environmental or climate degradation, are clear ways in which ecofeminist perspectives shape contemporary movements. I find that these ecofeminist values are not only present, but play a central role in how the grassroots movements that I study understand the problems they face, the solutions they'd like to see, and, *how* they try to put these solutions into practice. They are core elements of the Women's Climate Declaration (2013) prepared for COP 21 in Paris in 2015. Research throughout the United States also documents the importance of care (Goloff 2016) and of feelings of being a protector (Bell 2013) in climate and environmental justice activists' motivations. Gender, then, is a structure of inequality, an individual identity, and a force in social interactions that shapes values and ways of relating to other people that are also central to how the climate justice movement operates within my research cases.

To summarize, the movement building occurring in the grassroots of the climate justice movement is gendered. The values and practices that help people build relationships, the core process in movement building, are often feminine[38]—values and practices that people raised as women learn to embody and which tend to be associated with women and

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[37] See Hurwtiz and Taylor (2012) for a review of women's cultures and social movements in global contexts. They argue that cultures of care have long characterized the collective identities and collective action that women build.

[38] Commonly thought of feminine values in the United States include values such as being nurturing, caring, community-oriented, and sensitive. People of all genders can embody these values.

their roles, historically, globally, and today. Relationships inform who participates in movements; how people find and secure resources; how people develop, or access information that shapes their view of political context and opportunity; and how they engage in and reshape culture—their lived experience (Williams 1960). All of these elements are part of explanations for why and how social movements emerge, pursue particular goals, and "succeed" in creating or directing change, broadly defined.

CONCLUSION

In the tradition of scholarship and community organizing on climate and environmental justice, ecofeminism, and movement building, this dissertation shares knowledge about how people work together to imagine and realize a feminist future and a livable climate. I think of this future as feminist climate justice (see Gaard 2015; Macgregor 2014 for similar concepts).[39] Drawing on Adams's (1996:18) definition of a feminist, I envision feminist climate justice as a society that does not accept exploitation, where communities, rather than corporations, determine their futures, and where decisions are guided by what the most marginalized communities deem to be in the interest of peace and justice.

[39] Gaard (2015) uses the term "ecofeminist climate justice" and Macgregor (2014) uses the term "feminist ecological citizenship" to communicate a similar vision. In my view, Gaard's use of ecofeminism is a powerful way to bring explicit attention to interspecies justice. Like her, I think it is important to center climate justice because it communicates the global nature of the many crises we face and the importance of centering justice in climate action. I also, however, support Macgregor's use of feminist because of its capacity to resonate with all feminists. By coupling feminist with climate justice, I hope to push feminists who are not already ecofeminists to recognize climate justice as inextricably linked to all other justice struggles. I offer the term feminist climate justice as an entry point for a broad group of scholars and activists to begin engaging with and adopting ecofeminist insights and identities.

As a starting point, my research views the contradiction of climate crisis and continued extreme energy extraction as a foundational part of capitalism. This contradiction is a symptom of the dissolution of just, equitable, and sustainable relationships among people and between people and the more-than-human world. I find that activists are focusing on relationships to address this crisis. The climate justice movement's turn to the local, where women are over-represented in grassroots organizing, means that more women are shaping the movement. Across my research cases, women are the majority of participants and leaders in resistance to extreme energy extraction. Though many interviewees had not thought much about how gender informed their organizing, their emphasis on collaboration, care, and community illustrates that women's perspectives, values, and practices, shaped in particular ways by their lived experiences as women, are important pillars of the climate justice movement. Women's participation, by embedding feminine ethos and practices in relationships with other activists and groups, is contributing to the movements' focus on movement building and intersectional justice—justice that addresses the root causes of many forms of oppression.

This chapter sets the stage for the analysis by highlighting the scholarly and activist traditions that inform my understanding and presentation of interviewees' words and actions. In particular, I engage in conversation with four bodies of knowledge—ecofeminism, environmental justice, climate justice, and social movement studies. I present the first three as the pillars of a sociology of the climate crisis that is dedicated to justice-centered responses to climate change that transform social structures within and beyond the confines of the academy. Building on ecofeminist and environmental justice traditions, I illuminate how environmental justice's emphasis on leadership by and solidarity with those most

affected by environmental and climate harms, and ecofeminism's emphasis on intersectional feminist thinking and action that value co-dependence and prioritize respect for all beings, human and more-than-human, manifest in visions of climate justice and within the climate justice movement. My research advances understanding of the climate justice movement by revealing the practices and values of it diverse local-level participants. By centering climate justice philosophy, with its ecofeminist and environmental justice roots, in my analysis of how this social movement works, I present an understanding of collective identity that stresses relational organizing and inclusivity. I situate this conceptualization of collective identity alongside coalition-building as key facets of movement-building, an important process and goal that the climate justice movement employs to build the broad-based movements required to address the climate crisis. In these ways, my research deepens understanding of how people respond to climate change and its drivers (extreme energy extraction), and the tactics and political cultures that the relatively new climate justice movement is cultivating. Insights in each of these areas are relevant to climate change adaptation and mitigation and contemporary social movements.

Building on the theoretical background developed in this chapter, the next chapter explores the place-based context of my research.

CHAPTER THREE

Climate Justice in Place: Research Context

Place informs how people experience and learn about the world (Feld and Basso 1996). It also informs the siting of energy extraction, transportation, processing, and consumption, and climate change impacts for humans, other living beings, and the physical environment. As Escobar writes, "place, body, and environment integrate with each other" (2001:143).

My research is grounded in communities in two western U.S. states: Idaho and California (see Figure 1). They are places where I am personally and politically embedded in long-term relationships with people and environments. They contrast in dominant political ideologies, strength of environmental movements, climate change policy, and histories of energy extraction. California has been a leading oil producer for over a century, whereas Idaho is a fossil fuel frontier, a place that has never, until 2009, had any commercially viable fossil fuel extraction. As I explain in chapter eight, this, combined with other features of these places, affects how activists organize against extreme energy extraction.

The national context also affects the movements and communities I study, for they exist within the social, cultural, political, and economic milieus fueling the climate crisis. The United States is both the global leader of hydrocarbon production (since 2013) and also the highest historical contributor to carbon dioxide emissions (U.S. Energy Information Administration 2016b; World Resources Institute 2014). In interviewee Cass Davis's words "being a poor peasant, there's no place I can cause indigestion better than in the belly of the beast." I anticipate activists' insights in these locations within the United States, and my

analysis, to be useful for individuals and communities working within and between similarly situated places.

Figure 1. Map of the Western United States.

Oil *and* Climate Action? California

Despites its progressive climate policies and green image (see Megerian 2015), California[40] has a long history of oil production. It is the third largest U.S. producer of crude oil historically[41] and currently[42] (U.S. Energy Information Administration 2014). People (mostly men)[43] have been drilling for oil and gas in California since the mid-1800s. The first boom occurred in the mid-1860s when sixty-five oil companies drilled from Humboldt Bay to Ventura (Division of Oil, Gas & Geothermal Resources 2013b). In response, the Department of Petroleum and Gas, now the Division of Oil, Gas & Geothermal Resources (DOGGR), was established in 1915 to enforce industry-related regulations legislated since 1903. Summerland, in Santa Barbara County, was the site of the world's first offshore drilling in 1896. In 1969, the first offshore oil spill occurred in the Santa Barbara Channel; it took the well operator ten days to stop the flow of oil and gas (Molotch 1970). The event helped prompt the first Earth Day in 1970, the creation of many environmental organizations and the University of California Santa Barbara's environmental studies program, and the adoption of environmental and extraction regulations. The first comprehensive report on the state's offshore oil and gas seeps was published two years later, in 1971. Since then, DOGGR has

[40] California's 2014 population was 38.8 million whereas Idaho's was 1.634 million.

[41] Historically, Texas is number one, followed by Alaska, California, and Louisiana.

[42] Texas is number one, followed by North Dakota, California, and Alaska.

[43] According to a report commissioned by the American Petroleum Institute, in 2010, women accounted for nineteen percent of total employment in the combined oil and gas and petrochemical industries. Out of the 1.3 million new direct job opportunities that the report estimates for the 2010 to 2030 period, women "could account for 185 thousand," or fourteen percent (IHS Global Inc. 2014:2).

been working to clean up improperly abandoned oil infrastructure throughout the state, and now plays a role in the regulation of unconventional techniques such as fracking.

In 2013, Governor Jerry Brown signed Senate Bill 4 (SB4) that mandates regulations, which went into effect in July 2015, for three kinds of well stimulation: fracking, acid fracturing, and acid matrix stimulation.[44] SB4 requires oil and gas operators to notify DOGGR before any of the above three well stimulation activities, to expand monitoring and reporting of water use and quality, conduct broad analysis of potential engineering and seismic impacts of extraction, and to disclose chemicals used. The *Los Angeles Times* called the regulations the "toughest-in-the-nation fracking rules" (Cart 2015a). The state's ambitions to limit dirty energy production, however, stop at regulations. Since SB4 was first approved, Governor Brown has consistently ignored calls by environmental organizations, grassroots groups, and concerned residents to ban fracking. On March 15, 2014, four thousand marched on the Capitol in Sacramento at the Don't Frack California Rally. On February 7, 2015, eight thousand participated in the March for Real Climate Leadership in Oakland, one of the largest anti-fracking demonstrations in U.S. history. In May 2016, in the aftermath of the largest methane gas leak in U.S. history in the Los Angeles neighborhood of Porter Ranch, two thousand people marched in Los Angeles to "Break Free from Fossil Fuels." The protest sign below, present at many of these protests, sums up activists' frustration. Many do not think the toughest-in-the-nation fracking rules are very good. Hollin Kretzmann of the Center for Biological Diversity said, "The state's weak fracking rules focus on notification and do almost nothing to safeguard California's air, water or public health"

[44] See http://www.conservation.ca.gov/dog/Pages/WellStimulation.aspx for more information.

(Cart 2015a). Other concerns include regulators' capacity to enforce the rules and the reports' incorporation of science—it was released *before* an independent report on fracking risks by the California Council on Science and Technology (Cart 2015a). Concerns about enforcement capacity stem from an internal audit by DOGGR finding that, among other violations of policy, since 2007, most oil projects in the Los Angeles area have not been subject to a required annual review (Cart 2015c).

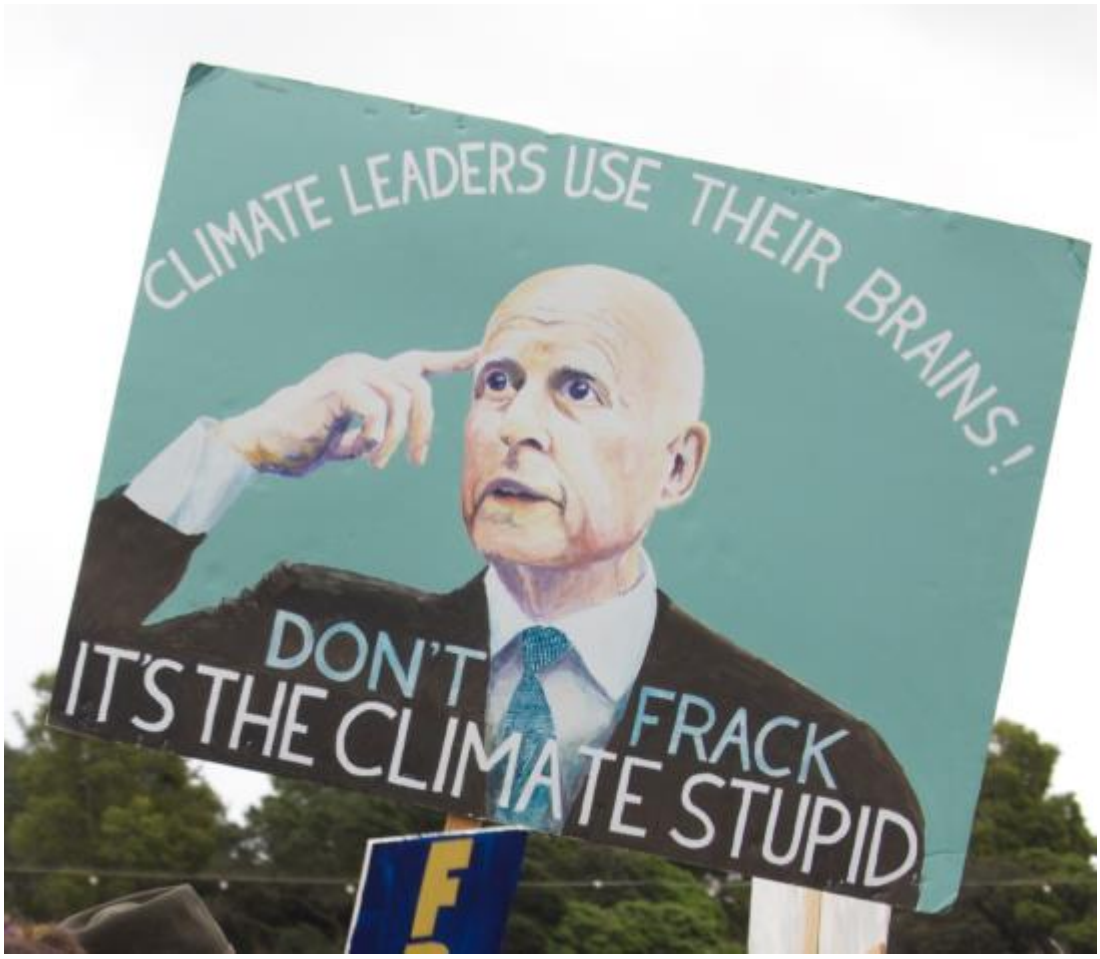

Figure 2. Protest sign featuring Jerry Brown. March for Real Climate Leadership, Oakland, CA, February 7, 2015.

In addition to state level campaigns, individual counties and cities throughout California have marshaled opposition to fracking, acidization, and another intensive

technique, cyclic steam injection. San Benito,[45] Mendocino, and Santa Barbara Counties all gathered enough signatures for ballot measure fracking bans in the 2014 mid-term elections. San Benito gathered 4,100 signatures, Mendocino gathered six thousand, and Santa Barbara gathered twenty thousand. Mendocino and San Benito voters passed the ballot measures.[46] Both counties had little or no oil and gas production. In Santa Barbara, the sixth largest oil producing county in California in 2013 (Division of Oil, Gas & Geothermal Resources 2013a), with a century old oil presence, and where over six million oil corporation dollars funded an opposition campaign, the ballot measure did not pass. In the November 2016 elections, Monterey County, California's fourth largest oil producing county (Division of Oil, Gas & Geothermal Resources 2013a), successfully passed a ban. In 2014 and 2016 respectively, Santa Cruz and Alameda counties banned fracking through approval by county leaders. Of all of these efforts (see Figure 3), the quantity of signatures and campaign spending and organizing, on both sides, make Santa Barbara the largest electoral mobilization to ban fracking in California state history.

[45] See http://www.protectsanbenito.org/.

[46] After the election, the oil company Citadel Exploration sued San Benito County for 1.2 billion dollars. Citadel dropped the suit in March 2015.

Figure 3. Map of California.

350 Santa Barbara (350SB), a grassroots chapter[47] of the international group 350.org, spearheaded the Santa Barbara mobilization. Though Santa Barbara has a number of environmental groups that have been doing good work for decades (the Community Environmental Council (CEC) was formed in 1970 and the Environmental Defense Center (EDC) was formed in 1977), at the time of 350SB's founding in January 2013, few of these groups were dedicated entirely to climate change or engaged in protest.[48] These groups also have long-term relationships with donors in the Santa Barbara community and local government officials, something that 350SB members saw as making them inclined to work within more conservative venues for creating environmental change (legal, consumer choice, public hearings), rather than engaging in grassroots community organizing, protests, and ballot measures. In fact, leaders of these and other long-time environmental groups in Santa Barbara explicitly advised against 350SB organizing the 2014 ballot measure. When the measure failed, these groups communicated an "I told you so" sentiment to 350SB and expressed fear that the failure would damage the environmental movement in Santa Barbara and elsewhere.[49]

In line with 350.org's message to bring carbon dioxide concentrations in the earth's atmosphere down to 350 parts per million (ppm),[50] a safe level for continued life on earth, 350SB is focused on climate change. The group has hosted rallies for renewable energy,

[47] Local chapters of 350.org independently choose their campaigns and organizing styles.

[48] 350SB members cite this as the reason for starting their group.

[49] Successes at many levels since then (e.g. Monterey County and New York State, which banned fracking in December 2014), demonstrate that this fear was unfounded. See chapter eight for details on successes that occurred in Santa Barbara County after 2014.

[50] Carbon dioxide is currently over 400 parts per million of the atmosphere.

educated the community about climate change, and urged city and county institutions to divest from fossil fuels. The group's ranks swelled when, in September 2013, members constructed a ninety-foot long inflatable replica of the Keystone XL Pipeline, and with about one hundred people in attendance, marched it through downtown Santa Barbara to the beach (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Protest against the Keystone XL Pipeline. Photo courtesy of Hunter Grosse.

The next campaign to spark the interest of 350SB was fracking. In March 2014, faced with oil industry plans for 7,700 new unconventional oil wells in northern Santa Barbara County, two key woman organizers, Becca Claassen and Katie Davis drafted a ballot measure, modeled on that of San Benito, and, with hundreds of volunteers, gathered the requisite 13,200 signatures to put the measure on the November 2014 ballot. 350SB formed a

coalition organization called the Santa Barbara County Water Guardians[51] and, in three weeks in April, volunteers gathered 20,000 signatures.

In the following months, one thousand volunteers worked within the context of the Yes on Measure P campaign to educate voters. Californians for Energy Independence, with majority funding by Chevron and Aera Energy, spent over six million dollars in the No on Measure P opposition campaign. Yes on Measure P raised over $400,000. In the end, sixty-one percent of voters voted no and thirty-nine percent voted yes in a midterm election with especially low voter turnout. Nationwide, it was the lowest voter turnout in seventy-two years (Alter 2014) and in Santa Barbara, only fifty-six percent of registered voters cast votes on Measure P.[52]

Since 2014, people who worked on Measure P have protested other extreme energy issues. In 2015 and 2016, they sent public comments, attended community meetings, and protested at hearings to stop Phillips 66's expansion of its rail spur in Nipomo, just north of the Santa Barbara County in San Luis Obispo County, with six hundred people protesting at a hearing in February 2016. This expansion would have increased oil transportation on railways and through communities along the California coast, part of a larger trend of oil by rail sweeping the country. In March 2017, the San Luis Obispo County Board of Supervisors denied the project.

In 2016, the other most notable campaign that has engaged Santa Barbara climate justice activists is Standing Rock. Many 350SB members have collaborated with local indigenous Chumash leaders to organize the Santa Barbara Standing Rock Coalition, which

[51] See http://www.sbcountywaterguardians.org/ for more information.

[52] See http://sbcvote.com/Elect/Resources/Results11_2014/results-1.htm for election results.

has hosted marches and divestment protests, where attendees publicly divest from banks funding the Dakota Access Pipeline. This campaign quickly combined with rallies and marches in protest of the November 2016 election of Donald Trump. Trump held shares in Energy Transfer Partners, the Dakota Access Pipeline owner, until summer 2016 and had made statements in support of Dakota Access Pipeline during his campaign, ultimately authorizing its construction by executive order just after taking office.

Climate Deniers in a Fossil Fuel Frontier: Idaho

While fossil fuel production has long been a part of Santa Barbara County and California, it has only recently begun in Idaho, where three of the four members of Congress are climate deniers and where, following the hottest year ever, lawmakers dropped climate change from K-12 education standards (Ellingboe and Koronowski 2016; Kruesi 2017). Climate denial characterizes Idaho's leaders, the people who are making decisions about fossil fuel development, but not the public; seventy-five percent believe in climate change, compared to eighty-two percent in California (Krosnick 2013).

Idaho is a rural state with approximately 1.6 million residents in 2014.[53] While industry has been searching for oil and gas since 1903, and drilled about 145 wells through 1990, until recently "the story of oil and gas exploration in Idaho [was] an ongoing saga of near successes and shattered expectations" (McLeod 1993). No commercial discoveries were made. Since 2009, however, fifteen natural gas wells have been drilled in Payette County, in

[53] This is almost equivalent to the population of Santa Barbara County and its two neighboring counties, San Luis Obispo County and Ventura County, whose combined 2013 population was 1.5 million.

southwest Idaho, and three permitted in Bonneville County, in southeastern Idaho (Idaho Department of Lands 2017) (see Figure 6 on page 81). In 2017, nine were producing, up from one in 2015, and six awaited pipelines. From the beginning, residents have feared that production will use fracking.

Resident suspicions are based on anecdotes and a distrust of government and industry. One community member, in a tour of the local power plant, had the CEO of Snake River Oil and Gas, Richard Brown, tell him that gas companies planned to frack, a statement overheard by other community members. Bridge Energy, a company that has since gone bankrupt, is on the record using the term "mini-fracking" to describe well stimulation operations in Idaho (see Barker 2014; Prentice 2011a). Residents fear fracking (Barker 2014) despite government, industry, and environmental lobby groups telling them that no fracking occurs in Idaho, and that they have a conventional gas play, meaning gas easily flows into the well and the surrounding rocks do not, therefore, need to be fractured. Activists do not believe fracking will not occur and use "fracking" to describe what they are fighting against. As is the case in Santa Barbara, where activists would like to have cyclic steam injection included, and therefore prohibited, within the concept of fracking—perhaps as "steam fracking"—, how people understand and employ the concept of fracking may not match what is technically considered fracking by the oil and gas industry. In 2017, however, more information is emerging. Southeast Idaho, where production has not yet occurred, may have good conditions for fracking. Idaho Geological Survey state geologist, Ed Ratchford, has said the geology there appears to favor hydraulic fracturing: "That kind of effort [fracking] is largely still left to be done in Idaho and still poses some upside potential in that [eastern] part of the state" (Ridler 2017). The Idaho Department of lands issued three permits to drill in that

part of the state in 2016. One, for well "Federal 20-3" is a permit to "directionally drill for oil and gas," though under the question, "Does this application include the following actions?" "Directional or Horizontal Drilling" is not checked.

Oil and gas development in Idaho is under control of the Oil and Gas Conservation Commission, which, until 2013, was the five members of the Idaho Land Board. That year, Governor C. L. "Butch" Otter and the Idaho Legislature changed the composition of the Commission to five individuals appointed by the Governor and approved by the Senate. Many of the regulations for current oil and gas development in Idaho were developed in 2014 and approved by the Idaho State Legislature in 2015. Though the regulations improve existing environmental protections, critics such as Alma Hasse, co-founder, with Tina Fisher, of Idaho Residents Against Gas Extraction (IRAGE), say they are insufficient (Smith 2014b). Alma, Tina, and a small group of concerned citizens in the Payette County and Gem County (where seismic testing for drilling occurred before 2016) were the first force of opposition to natural gas expansion, arguing for enhanced environmental testing, increased distance between drilling and homes, better preparation of public safety providers, and greater industry transparency. Having gained little traction in local communities while working as IRAGE and spreading messages focused on the environment, in summer 2015, Alma and other residents formed a new nonprofit organization, Citizens Allied for Integrity and Accountability (CAIA). Along with communicating the risks of fracking, CAIA has been sounding the alarm about the possibility that landowners can be in default of their mortgages if they sign an oil and gas lease.[54] They have experienced much greater rates of growth than

[54] In response to a request for information on the threats oil and gas drilling poses to mortgages, a 2016 letter from Idaho's Deputy Attorney General (Guyon 2016) stated that a

IRAGE. In chapter five, I argue that this is a result of their messaging and appeals to common values.

Idaho oil and gas policy is comprised of bills that serve the interests of the gas companies. House Bill 50 states that Idaho residents can be force integrated into gas extraction projects by the state if owners of fifty-five percent of the mineral rights in the surrounding section of land agree to lease. That means forty-five percent of mineral rights owners have no say in whether extraction occurs. If the state issues an Integration Order, prompted by an oil and gas company, mineral rights owners[55] in the section have three options. These are outlined by the Idaho Department of Lands (2015):[56] 1) "Participate as a Working Interest Owner," in which mineral owners pay for the extraction infrastructure (hundreds of thousands or millions of dollars split between mineral owners) and receive full royalties, 2) "Elect Non-Consenting Working Interest Owner" in which mineral owners who do not have the money to pay for the infrastructure pay a 300 percent penalty on the cost of the infrastructure and receive a reduced 1/8th royalty, and (3) "Deemed Leased" in which

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common provision in mortgages "prohibits the borrower from transferring any portion of the mortgaged property without the prior approval of the lender." Leasing the rights to a property's subsurface minerals without the consent of the lender violates this provision. In addition, "[m]ost residential mortgages also prohibit borrowers from (1) using or storing hazardous materials on the property; or (2) engaging in activities that (a) violate environmental laws; (b) may require an environmental cleanup; or (c) decrease the property's values because of the presence or release of hazardous substances. Extracting oil and gas from a property may violate one or both of these prohibitions." See also an interactive set of documents on mortgages and oil and gas leases compiled by *The New York Times*: http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/us/drilling-down-documents-8.html, and CAIA's website: http://www.integrityandaccountability.org/resources.html#mortgages.

[55] Title companies in Idaho are not required to notify buyers about mineral rights. Thus, many residents do not know if they own their mineral rights.

[56] See Mineral Rights Information Fact Sheet (updated February 4, 2015) at http://www.idl.idaho.gov/news-media/2015-01_faq-mineral-rights-integration_v0204.pdf

mineral owners refuse to participate, but are forced to lease by the Integration Order. In this case, mineral rights owners receive 1/8th royalty. Two other particularly egregious policies, in CAIA's eyes, are House Bill 464 and Senate Bill 1339. Passed in 2012, House Bill 464 stripped all local control over the siting of wells and removed local capacity to prohibit extraction (essentially a ban on bans that prohibit fracking). Senate Bill 1339, passed in 2016, removed CAIA's ability to intervene in court on behalf of its members—this had been the groups' primary legal strategy—, drastically shortened the approval process for drilling applications, and gave all power of approval for oil and gas infrastructure to one person, the director of the Idaho Department of Lands. Like many of the other oil and gas bills, Senate Bill 1339 was declared an "emergency" so it could go into effect immediately.[57] Implications of these regulations, and especially House Bill 50's seemingly illogical penalties, are central concerns of CAIA. See chapter five for a more detailed description of CAIA's struggle with oil and gas legislation.

Natural gas extraction is just one of an increasing number of fossil fuel-related activities that link Idaho, where 12.6 percent of the state is wilderness (the highest proportion in the United States) and with about one and half times more cattle than people, to a global extractivist economy (see Hormel 2016). From 2011 to 2014, Idaho highways were sites of

[57] This begs the question, emergency for whom? The government declared "emergency" is clearly for the oil and gas companies. This parallels the state of emergency issued by North Dakota's governor in September 2016, which allowed militarized opposition to the water protectors at Standing Rock. The ACLU called the governor's declaration "a state of emergency for civil rights" (see Cook 2016).

transportation of tar sands extraction infrastructure that, together with their trailers, were known as megaloads (see Figure 5).[58]

Figure 5. Megaload. Photo courtesy of Dave King.

The equipment was shipped into the Port of Lewiston, Idaho, the furthest inland port from the Pacific, and then transported via megaload to the Kearl oil sands in Alberta. These two-hundred-foot-long, two-story building tall, and two lanes of traffic wide trucks attempted to expedite their trip to Alberta by traveling along Highway 12, a federally designated scenic byway, Highway 95, and a handful of other routes (see Figure 6). On each, protest by residents and tribes slowed megaloads' progress. Grassroots groups and nonprofits such as Wild Idaho Rising Tide (WIRT),[59] Fighting Goliath,[60] Friends of the Clearwater,[61] and Idaho

[58] To get a sense of Highway 12, the size of the megaloads, and people involved, see: http://www.thisamericanland.org/news/reports-from-the-edge-megaloads-blocked-from-wild-scenic-river-route#.WIJE5juCuJU

[59] http://wildidahorisingtide.org/megaload-campaign/

[60] This group removed their website in 2016.

Rivers United[62] were key resistance organizers. In January 2017, a long legal battle concluded with a prohibition of megaloads traveling along Highway 12.[63]

As with Measure P, after 2014, activists who had worked on the megaload campaign began working on other extraction issues. Idaho railways, running along rivers and across lakes[64] carry oil, tar sands, and coal from northern sites of extraction to the west coast. Thus, oil trains, as in Santa Barbara, became a topic of public concern (Associated Press 2014; Wild Idaho Rising Tide 2015). In Sandpoint, Idaho (see Figure 6), trains carrying coal from Wyoming, oil from the Bakken Shale in North Dakota, and tar sands from Alberta, Canada, come together and cross Lake Pend Oreille, the largest lake in the Idaho Panhandle and fifth deepest lake in the United States. Helen Yost, the central organizer of WIRT, as well as staff in the Sandpoint offices of Idaho Conservation League and Pend Oreille Water Keeper are currently working with Sandpoint residents to raise awareness, and in WIRT's case, engage in direct action against the trains.

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[61] http://www.friendsoftheclearwater.org/road-blocking-megalaods-on-us-12/

[62] http://www.idahorivers.org/protectrivers/wild_scenic.aspx?page=hwy12

[63] See chapter eight for the full story of the megaloads.

[64] See a photo of this: http://trn.trains.com/news/news-wire/2014/08/as-traffic-grows-bnsf-looks-to-double-track-idaho-lake-crossing.

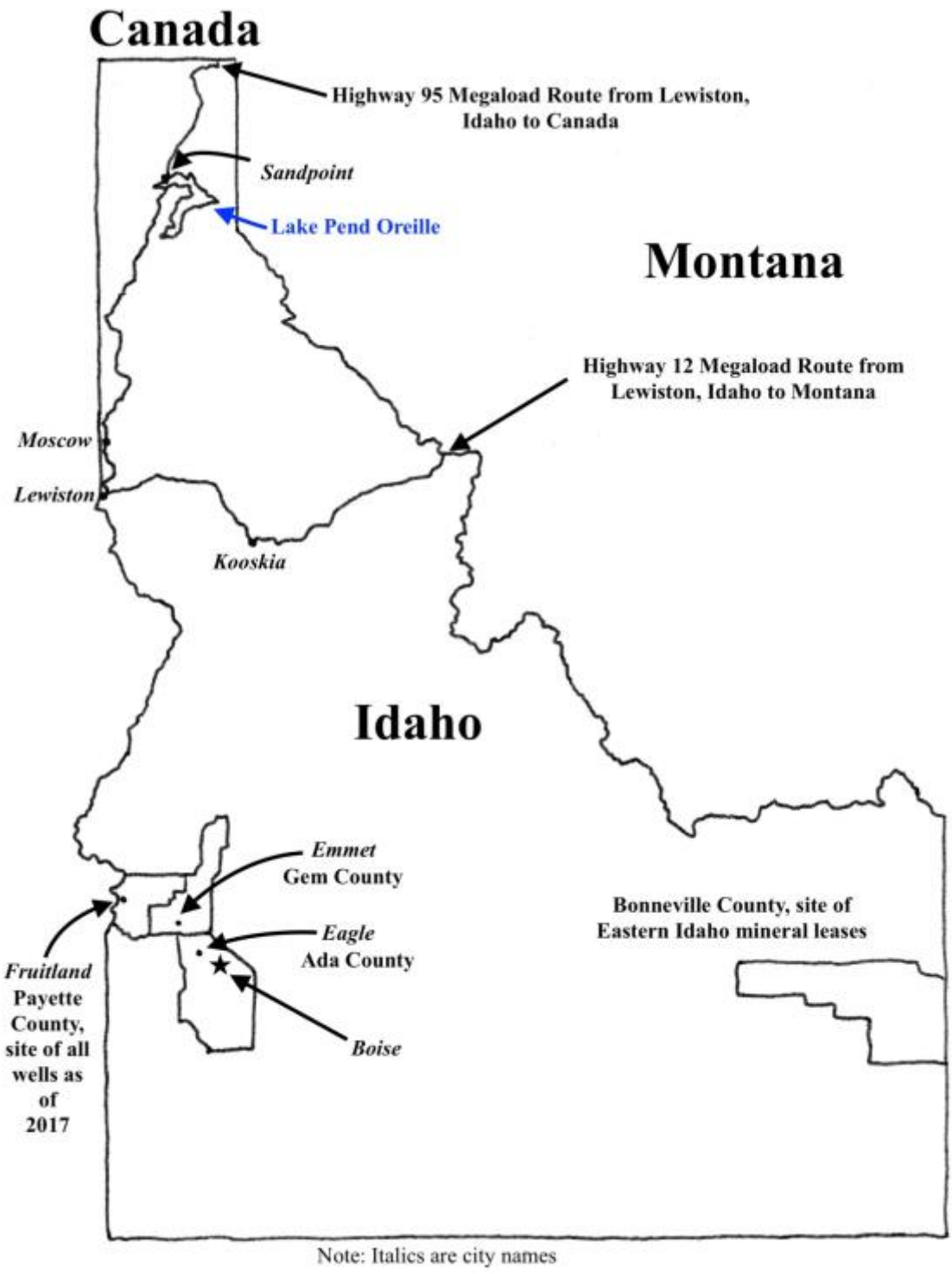

Figure 6. Map of Idaho.

In 2016, again in parallel to Santa Barbara, Idaho activists engaged with Standing Rock. The Nez Perce Tribe, who fought the megaloads, issued a resolution in solidarity with the Standing Rock Sioux against the Dakota Access Pipeline (Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee 2016). Alma Hasse, a board member of CAIA and veteran, joined over four thousand other veterans who traveled to Standing Rock in December 2016 to support the water protectors. On December 6, they held a ceremony in which they asked for forgiveness from Native Americans for the crimes of the U.S. military (Taliman 2016).

Idahoans are resisting each of these elements of the global fossil fuel infrastructure with little support from non-governmental organizations or state and local governments. They work in a political context that is hostile to environmentalism and in a social context where most people are conservative. For liberals, interviewee and resident of Kooskia, Idaho Lin Laughy explained, "it's tough sledding around here." In contrast, state level and national groups like Food and Water Watch, the Center for Biological Diversity, and ForestEthics (now STAND) have supported Santa Barbara activists. In addition, California's politics are known for being environmentally progressive. Both California Legislators from Santa Barbara's district during 2014, Senator Hannah-Beth Jackson and Assemblyman Das Williams, endorsed Measure P, and in the case of Williams, made the Santa Barbara fracking ban ballot measure a central part of his own campaign. As of March 2015, the California legislature was sixty-four percent Democratic while the Idaho legislature was nineteen percent Democratic (Ballotpedia 2014).

Having detailed the place-based context of my research, the next chapter on research methodology completes my work to set the stage for upcoming analytical chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology of A Scholar Activist: Feminist Accountability, Reciprocity, and Ethnography in The Age of Climate Crisis

This dissertation is a feminist scholar activist ethnography of grassroots manifestations of the climate justice movement. As feminist[65] ethnographic research, it begins with interrogation of the actual lived experience of people (Bhavnani and Talcott 2011). I first detail how, when, and with whom I conducted research. In the second section I describe the philosophical approaches that inform my methodology.

METHODS

Ethnographic Fieldwork

As a research method, ethnography is characterized by extended time spent in a place with research participants with the purpose of producing detailed descriptions of lived experience. While anthropologists have classically spent a year or more living in a place while conducting an ethnography, different forms of ethnographic research are proliferating (e.g. digital ethnography (Hsu 2014), multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1998)). My research is multi-sited and draws on both multiple relatively short focused trips to the field, and my

[65] Scholars have debated what constitutes feminist ethnography, identifying accountability, partiality, positionality and attention to difference as some of its central components (See Haraway 1988; Bhavnani 1993; Bhavnani and Talcott 2011). I discuss these perspectives later in the chapter. My own practice of feminist ethnography incorporates these elements and defines research as explicitly justice-oriented and political.

longer lived experience in research sites and with research participants. My methods incorporate perspectives from "global feminist ethnography" (Bhavnani and Talcott 2011), which, taking inspiration from feminist, critical, and global ethnographic traditions, emphasizes particular topics, lenses, and goals.

Feminist ethnography critiques social structure, pays attention to inequalities based on different identities and locations, and through this, offers "the possibility of glimpsing where and how the continuities and discontinuities" of women's and men's lives "might speak to each other" (Bhavnani and Talcott 2011:136). It offers depth and, through comparison across difference, breadth in understanding how globalization processes affect people's lives. Its emphasis on the complexity of lived experience, and how partial perspectives can illuminate unexpected connections, makes it particularly important for multi-sited ethnographies.[66]

In parallel to feminist ethnography, critical ethnography advocates attention to how local practices inform and are informed by oppressive social structures and power relations. It also prioritizes researcher reflexivity on the power dynamics between the researcher and research participants (Harvey 1990:12-14). It is explicitly political (value-laden) and justice oriented, in that it seeks to reveal underlying structures that perpetuate suffering (Harvey 1990; Thomas 1993). "Relational ethnography" (Desmond 2014) is yet another way to conceptualize these approaches' emphasis on processes and relationships.

Finally, my research draws on globally-oriented ethnographic practices. Today, and particularly in relation to climate change and extreme extraction activism, social relationships are no longer only situated in local places, but also extend transnationally and globally,

[66] For more on feminist research methodologies, see my discussion beginning on page 105.

especially with the use of technology. Fossil fuels are extracted for global markets, not local needs. Globalization, however, is also grounded in the local (Burawoy et al. 2000; Tsing 2004). As Anna Tsing (2004) explains, local situations, regional inequalities, and particular historical encounters pave the way for future "global" developments (2). People also actively resist and accommodate globalization, participate in creating and reproducing connections that stretch across the world, and mobilize and/or contest imaginations that are of global dimensions (Burawoy et al. 2000:5). Thus, social relationships are "increasingly embroiled in place-making projects that seek to redefine the connections, scales, borders, and character of particular places and particular social orders" (Gille and Ó Riain 2002:277). These projects are important places for ethnographers to investigate social relations in the era of globalization. I investigate place-making projects (which are also change-making projects) in multiple sites, carried out by people working to re-envision social orders. My approach reflects the fact that experiences of and responses to climate change and extreme energy activism are simultaneously multi-sited, local, and global.[67]

Informed by these perspectives, my ethnographic fieldwork consisted of three months living in Idaho throughout 2015, and my experiences as a climate justice activist in Santa Barbara County from 2013 to 2016. 2013 to 2014 was a period when I was particularly focused on activism and 2015 to 2016 was a period when I was particularly focused on research. I think of myself as a participant observer[68] who was more or less engaged in each

[67] Steger and Milicevic (2014) detail the global quality of the anti-fracking movement and how communities struggle in and across places while articulating a shared alternative political and economic imaginary based on democracy and social equality (2).

[68] Brewer (2000) distinguishes between participant observer and observant participant. Participant observers participate in order to observe and observant participants use an existing role to observe. I took on both of these roles in my research.

of these tasks at different times. I describe ethnographic activities in both settings in the following sections. In all sites, I engaged with activists as a researcher and as a fellow activist and was transparent about these positionalities. Within the realm of extreme energy and climate change, my goal was to explore global imaginations, or how "the local actively participates in public discourse about what globalization might look like" and acts to create that imagination (Gille and Ó Riain 2002:283). I joined individuals in their daily lives and practices to resist extreme energy. This included visiting the food bank, getting coffee with friends, chasing helicopters around for video footage, attending state legislature meetings, testifying at public hearings, brainstorming, puppet making, and reflecting during walks together as friends. I explored extraction sites and infrastructure in each study location. I attended activist meetings, to learn how groups organized and the issues they worked on, and public events, such as protests, marches, and government deliberations. In these settings, I acted as a participant observer and recorded detailed fieldnotes about participant interactions and group dynamics to understand members' meanings—what members' experiences and activities meant to them (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011).

Interviews: Conversations with a Purpose

I conducted in-depth interviews with 106 individuals from May 2015 to September 2016—sixty-two people in Idaho and forty-four people in California. All interviewees were people who had resisted extreme energy extraction. They used many words to describe their roles: activist, organizer, concerned resident, grandmother, someone who gives a damn, advocate, and ally. While some scholars choose to refer to people with this diversity of self-

identification as "movement actors" (Goloff 2016; Maeckelbergh 2011), I think activist is most appropriate for my research. At minimum, I define activist as someone who spends time learning and sharing information about something they perceive as either unjust or just. In my research, this typically means someone who learns about and shares information about extreme energy extraction, which they perceive as unjust, and/or just alternatives, like more local control over energy, or climate justice. This person may or may not see themselves as part of a movement or as an active member of a group, and may or may not engage in marches and protests, but their activism, in my view, contributes to movements for climate justice. I found that the reason some interviewees did not think of themselves as activists was because "activist" had a negative connotation in their community. In rural Idaho, "activist" was sometimes associated with "extreme," "tree hugger," and "lighting your hair on fire." It was almost always an ambiguous term, as illustrated by Patrick Fuerst's statement: "I'm not an extreme activist.... I mean, I would be willing to be arrested."[69] In California, interviewees also used "extreme" to describe activist. Rather than having a negative connotation as it sometimes did in Idaho, however, extreme typically referred to the fact that the interviewee did not think she met the level of dedication required of an activist, which was giving "150 percent" to the cause, in Maria Castro's view. In the end, many of the interviewees who thought of themselves as "concerned residents" and eschewed "activist" because of its association with a negative type of "extreme" eventually realized, after they had been working on their issue for a while, that being an activist was vital for the wellbeing of their family or community. Timmy Jacobs explained that he was not an activist by nature, "but an activist by necessity." I see activism as a critical component of democratic participation. I use

[69] See chapter five for more discussion on "activist."

the term to show respect and communicate my gratitude for the labor of interviewees, for their work to secure the wellbeing of their families and communities. For these reasons, I hope interviewees who identify with other terms will forgive my preference for activist.

Interviews ranged from thirty minutes to over three hours,[70] with a median length of sixty-five minutes and an average length of seventy-two minutes. I employed purposeful sampling of activists (see Table 2 and 3 for interviewee demographic characteristics and Table 4 and 5 for a list of interviewees). In the case of smaller organizations and grassroots groups in Idaho, I interviewed most or all core members. For larger Idaho organizations, I typically interviewed just one representative. I also interviewed people who, rather than being deeply involved in one organization, were members of many groups and generally concerned with extraction and environmental issues.

In Santa Barbara, my strategy was similar. In the case of larger organizations and broad coalitions working on anti-extraction campaigns in Santa Barbara, I pursued maximum variation sampling (Lofland et al. 2006), a strategy of interviewing members who represent all levels of involvement in the organization: leadership, core members, rank and file, and individuals who serve as bridge builders with other organizations. I interviewed eleven individuals who comprised the core group of 350 Santa Barbara in 2014 and four individuals who were members.[71] In Santa Barbara, I also interviewed twenty-nine youth activists (seven

[70] The over three-hour interview I reference was conducted over two sessions, each about an hour and forty-five minutes.

[71] I define the core group as people who regularly attended meetings and invested significant sustained time in group activities (e.g. organizing and attending events). I define members as people who were less regular in meeting attendance and invested lesser amounts of time over a shorter period.

of whom were part of 350 Santa Barbara), who represented all levels of involvement in community and student organizations.

Table 2. Idaho Interviewee Demographic Characteristics

Total N = 62	**N (%)**	**Median (Range)**
Age		56.5 (26-78)
College Degree or Higher	48 (80%)[2]	Degree completed: high school – graduate degree
Student	0 (0%)	
Women	42 (68%)	
Mixed Race/Ethnicity	9 (15%)[1]	
Identifies as Person of Color	4 (6%)	Native American, Nez Perce, Nooksack
Has partner/spouse*	43 (69%)	
Has partner involved in movement?	33 (53%)	
Dependent(s)?	20 (32%)	0 – 4
From state where organizes?	15 (25%)[2]	
Lives close to oil & gas?	38 (63%)[2]	
Homeowner?	47 (77%)[1]	
Interviewees are involved in over 24 organizations		

Note: gender and race/ethnicity are self-reported. Many mixed race/ethnicity individuals in Idaho identified as people with mixed European heritage. *7 couples were interviewed. Superscript equals number of missing values. Percentages are calculated based on non-missing values.

Table 3. California Interviewee Demographic Characteristics

Total N = 44	**N (%)**	**Median (Range)**
Age		23.5 (19-69)
College Degree or Higher	32 (73%)	Degree completed: high school – graduate degree
Student	16 (36%)	
Women	25 (57%)	
Mixed Race/Ethnicity	15 (35%)[1]	
Identifies as Person of Color	12 (27%)	Chumash, African American/Black, Latina/o, Filipino, Singhalese Sri Lankan
Has partner/spouse*	26 (59%)	
Has partner involved in movement?	20 (45%)	
Dependent(s)?	5 (11%)	0 – 3
From state where organizes?	28 (64%)	
Lives close to oil & gas?	29 (66%)	
Homeowner?	11 (25%)	
Interviewees are involved in over 27 organizations		

Note: gender and race/ethnicity are self-reported. *5 couples were interviewed. Superscript equals number of missing values. Percentages are calculated based on non-missing values.

Table 4. Idaho Interviewees

Date	First Name	Last Name	Occupation	Length (mins)	Interview Category
3/5/15	Sharon	Cousins	Founder and director, student solar cooking science projects (volunteer)	52	Megaloads
3/7/15[P]	Jeanne	McHale	Professor of Chemistry, Washington State University	60	Megaloads
3/7/15	Jackie		Mom	30	Megaloads
7/7/15	Lin	Laughy	Retired education administrator	61	Megaloads
7/7/15	Borg	Hendrickson	Retired high school English teacher	61	Megaloads
7/8/15	Gary	Macfarlane	Ecosystem Defense Director, Friends of the Clearwater	72	Megaloads
7/9/15	David	Hall	Retired IT specialist/ software	37	Megaloads
7/9/15	Patrick	Fuerst	Researcher, Department of Crop and Soil Sciences, Washington State University	72	Megaloads
7/9/15	Cindy	Magnuson	Retired educator, special education	57	Megaloads
7/9/15	Julian	Matthews	Human resources, Nez Perce Clinic	57	Megaloads
7/10/15[P]	Gary	Payton	Retired mission worker for Presbyterians and air force officer	67	Oil/Coal Trains, Sandpoint
7/10/15	Ashley		Algae project coordinator (administrative position)	58	Megaloads
7/10/15[P], 8/8/15[P]	Ellen	R.	Retired restaurant owner	98	Megaloads
7/10/15	Pat	Rathmann	Retired personnel manager	110	Megaloads
7/10/15, 11/16/15	Cass	Davis	None	212	Megaloads
7/10/15	Helen	Yost	None, sometimes hotel clerk	122	Megaloads, Oil/Coal Trains, Sandpoint
7/11/15	Rod	Barklay	Retired high school art and science teacher	64	Oil/Coal Trains, Sandpoint
7/11/15	Kim	Marshall	Life coach	64	Oil/Coal Trains, Sandpoint
7/12/15	Lee	Macleod	Retired parole/ probation officer	43	Oil/Coal Trains, Sandpoint
7/12/15[P]	Nancy	Gilliam	Executive Director, Model Forest Policy Program	64	Climate Adaptation, Sandpoint, ID
7/13/15	Constance		Retired scientist	94	Oil/Coal Trains, Sandpoint

7/13/15	Susan	Drumheller	North ID Associate, Idaho Conservation League	57	Oil/Coal Trains, Sandpoint
7/14/15	Ellen	Weissman	Director of senior center	76	Oil/Coal Trains, Sandpoint
7/15/15	Carrie	Logan	Mayor of Sandpoint, retired	41	Oil/Coal Trains, Sandpoint
7/15/15	Shannon	Williamson	Executive Director, Lake Pend Oreille Waterkeeper	62	Oil/Coal Trains, Sandpoint
7/19/15	Laura	Thomason	Teacher	75	Fracking, ID
7/21/15	Natalie	Havlina	Attorney	67	Megaloads/Fracking, ID
7/21/15	Ben	Otto	Attorney/Energy Associate, Idaho Conservation League	98	Energy/Fracking, ID
7/22/15	Tina	Fisher	Quality assurance	67	Fracking, ID
7/28/15[P]	Courtney	Washburn	Executive Director, Conservation Voters for Idaho	30	Conservation/ Fracking, ID
7/28/15	William	Johnson	Retired software developer	70	Fracking, ID
10/14/15	Brynna	Smith	Stay at home mom	55	Fracking, ID
10/14/15	Luke	Smith	Paramedic	55	Fracking, ID
10/18/15	Jan		Service industry (antique repair and sales)	99	Fracking, ID
10/18/15, 4/21/16[P]	Wayne		Service industry (antique repair and sales)	136	Fracking, ID
10/19/15	Kathy	Anchustegui	CPA	70	Fracking, ID
10/20/15	Justin	Hayes	Program Director, Idaho Conservation League	50	Fracking, ID
10/25/15	Shelley	Brock	Certified surgical technician	139	Fracking, ID
10/27/15	Joli		Business owner	65	Fracking, ID
10/29/15	Kelsey		Attorney, former nonprofit executive director	85	Fracking, ID
11/9/15	Jane	Fritz	Freelance writer/ independent radio producer/ oral historian	148	Megaloads, Oil/Coal Trains, Sandpoint
11/10/15	Meryl	Kastin	Clinical herbalist, reflexologist	56	Megaloads
11/11/15	Brett	Haverstick	Education and Outreach Director, Friends of the Clearwater	61	Megaloads
11/13/15	Jenny		Agricultural scientist	52	Megaloads
11/16/15	Leontina	Hormel	Sociologist	110	Megaloads
11/16/15	Nancy	Chaney	Small business owner, former mayor of Moscow, Idaho	71	Megaloads
11/16/15	Lucinda	Simpson	Retired	38	Megaloads
11/16/15	Paulette	Smith	Admin Specialist III, Nez	38	Megaloads

			Perce Tribe Fisheries Research		
11/16/15	Samantha	Smith	Data Management Tech III, Nez Perce Tribe	38	Megaloads
12/6/15	Tom	Cervino	CFO	52	Fracking, ID
12/6/15	Paige		Project manager (software)	52	Fracking, ID
12/8/15	Sherry	Gordon	Retired university library paraprofessional	105	Fracking, ID
12/8/15	Dottie	Hawthorne	Retired	120	Fracking, ID
12/8/15	Gretchen	C	Bookkeeper/ executive assistant	100	Climate Change/Fracking, ID
12/11/15	Stealth	Officer	Civil engineer	51	Fracking, ID
12/12/15	Alma	Hasse	Self-employed	89	Fracking, ID
12/12/15, 4/16/16[P]	Jim	Plucinski	Business owner	117	Fracking, ID
12/13/15	Sarah	Pierce	Verification specialist	36	Fracking, ID
12/14/15	Peter	Dill	Lawyer	55	Fracking, ID
12/14/15	Susan	Dill	Organic farmer	55	Fracking, ID
12/16/15	Dave	Monsees	Retired	57	Fracking, ID
12/16/15	Zack	Waterman	Chapter Director, Idaho Sierra Club	53	Fracking, ID

Note: [P] interviews conducted over the phone.

Table 5. California Interviewees

Date	First Name	Last Name	Occupation	Length (mins)	Interview Category
5/21/15	Madeline	Stano	Staff Attorney, Center on Race Poverty and the Environment	52	California Climate Justice Organizing
6/11/15	Unique	Vance	Student	68	Youth, Measure P
6/11/15	Timmy	Jacobs	Student (graduating)	58	Youth, Measure P
6/16/15	Arlo		Food Coop Clerk, Field Organizer California Student Sustainability Coalition	86	Youth, Measure P
6/16/15	Alex	Favacho	Student/organizer	93	Youth, Measure P
6/16/15, 5/16/16	Emily	Williams	Campaign Director, California Student Sustainability Coalition	145	Youth, Measure P
6/17/15	Rob	Holland	Student	64	Youth, Measure P
6/17/15	Theo	Lequesne	Student	65	Youth, Measure P
6/17/15	Max	Golding	Data entry, marketing	102	Youth, Measure P
6/18/15	Jake		Graduate student	59	Youth, Measure P
6/18/15	Skyler		Environmental educator	55	Youth, Measure P
8/5/15	Nia	Mitchell	Student	65	Youth, Measure P
8/5/15	Brian	Smith	Student	66	Youth, Measure P
8/7/15	Colin	Loustalot	Student/intern	108	Youth, Measure P
8/10/15[P]	Elie	Katzenson	Student/researcher	72	Youth, Measure P
8/11/15[S]	Kori	Lay	Graduate student	66	Youth, Measure P
8/11/15[P]	Zach	Rosenblatt	Restaurant host	48	Youth, Measure P
8/11/15	Amanda	Lusk	Sales manager	54	Youth, Measure P
8/20/15	Miranda	O'Mahony	Ice cream scooper/barista	70	Youth, Measure P
8/21/15	Michael	Fanelli	Solar marketing assistant	74	Youth, Measure P
8/24/15[P]	Ashley	S	Teacher	69	Youth, Measure P
8/27/15[P]	Alexandria		Organizing director	60	Youth, Measure P
8/28/15	Sarah		Landscaping	108	Youth, Measure P
9/3/15	Kyle	Fischler	Outdoor guide	66	Youth, Measure P
9/4/15	Camile		Student	48	Youth, Measure P
9/9/15	Stanley	Tzankov	District Representative for State Senator	68	Youth, Measure P
9/9/15	Maria	Castro	Night supervisor, Youth Crisis Shelter, and direct care staff for Metal Wellness Center	68	Youth, Measure P

9/28/15	Kai	Wilmsen	Student	64	Youth, Measure P
10/7/15	Kiyomi		None	72	Youth, Measure P
1/11/16	Katie	Davis	Activist, full time volunteer basis, former corporate VP web and e-commerce	134	Measure P
1/13/16	Gary	Paudler	R&D designer	94	Measure P
1/25/16	SB		Bookkeeper, retired	36	Measure P
1/25/16	Juan		Retired	36	Measure P
1/27/16	Rebecca	August	Writer/activist (volunteer)	83	Measure P
2/8/16	Vivian	Stanton	Retired elementary teacher, current Santa Barbara Community College writing tutor	107	Measure P
2/15/16	Becca		Organizer, Food and Water Watch, chiropractor by trade	136	Measure P
4/7/16	Charisse	Cordero	Retired educator	63	Measure P
4/7/16	Michael	Cordero	Retired educator	63	Measure P
4/11/16	Linda	Krop	Chief Counsel, Environmental Defense Center	37	Measure P
4/18/16	Dave	Davis	Former Executive Director of Community Environmental Council, retired nonprofit/government executive	77	Measure P
5/6/16	Daraka	Larimore-Hall	Chair of Santa Barbara Democratic Party, adjunct professor/political consultant	78	Measure P
6/3/16	Hazel	Davalos	Organizing Director, Central Coast United for a Sustainable Economy	63	Measure P
6/10/16	Janet	Blevins	Retired teacher, social studies and special needs	84	Measure P
9/6/16[P]	Morgan		Self-employed certified brain wave trainer	30	Measure P

Note: [P] interviews conducted over the phone. [S] interviews were conducted via Skype video.

I conducted interviews as "conversations with a purpose" following Burgess (1984). Conversations with a purpose are semi-structured interviews that recognize the importance of establishing relationships of trust and confidence with interviewees. This method seeks to make the interview experience one that is pleasing or agreeable to the interviewee (Burgess 1984). Because of their conversational style, conversations with a purpose enable the collection of richer, more detailed data than a rigid question and answer session (Burgess 1984). The conversations with a purpose that I conducted focused on six main agenda items:

1. The interviewee's work as an activist
2. The interviewee's pathway into activism
3. How activism interacts with other areas of life (employment, family)
4. The role of gender and women in grassroots anti-extraction and climate justice activism
5. Reflections on the inclusivity and diversity of the group/movement of which the interviewee is a member
6. The interviewee's hopes for the future

Following our conversation, I collected demographic information about interviewees. Interviews were very free flowing. Often interviewees covered multiple agenda items in the course of their storytelling. Throughout the conversation I would probe topics, or at the end, circle back to ask for clarification. For interviewees who had only thirty minutes for an interview (this was Carrie Logan, the mayor of Sandpoint, Idaho; Courtney Washburn, Justin Hayes, and Linda Krop, each staff of nonprofits; and Morgan, a grassroots activist), I focused our conversation less on their individual work and journey into activism and more on their perspective on the campaign or issue that they and their organization had worked on. I digitally recorded all but three of the interviews. For the non-recorded interviews, I wrote or typed notes during the interview. I collected ten interviews (Jeanne McHale, Gary Payton,

Ellen R., Nancy Gilliam, Courtney Washburn, Elie Katzenson, Zach Rosenblatt, Ashley S, Alexandria, and Morgan) and three follow up interviews over the phone (Jim Plucinski, Wayne, and Ellen R.) and one over Skype with video (Kori Lay).

To create transcripts of interviews, I dictated them, using Dragon Dictate 4 software. I listened to each interview, repeated it in real time, and used transcription hotkeys in ExpressScribe software to pause or move my audio playback backwards and forwards.[72] I then used ATLAS.ti software to organize interviews that I coded according to emergent themes. In practice, coding means reading each interview and assigning labels to phrases, sentences, or paragraphs. These labels, known as codes, communicate the meaning of the selected text. The software merely facilitated my ability to sort hundreds of pages of text according to codes that I wanted to explore. I did not use it to assign codes for me. For the majority of interviews, I used open coding, labeling all themes that I identified with codes I created while reading. After I had coded interviews, I sorted through them to identify patterns and develop my theoretical framework for the analysis. By grounding my analysis and concepts in people's words and actions, I engage in "grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Grounded theory generates theory from data, rather than using data to test a theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). It encourages the researcher to be open to discovery during the research process—to recognize that "there is no one right dance, no set routine to follow" (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2006:76). Bhavnani and Talcott (2011) also note that grounded

[72] I describe this process in depth in the hope that it will be of use for readers who are students or researchers. While transcribing an interview takes four to six hours for one hour of audio, I consistently dictated interviews in three hours for one hour of audio. In some cases, where a speaker was particularly clear and slow, I could dictate a one-hour interview in one hour. I dictated all interviews but twenty, which I paid to have transcribed by a professional transcriptionist. I am grateful to the UCSB Sociology Department and Kum-Kum Bhavnani for their financial support for transcriptions.

theory, by requiring the researcher to "listen to research participants and reformulate the study's questions, aims, and scope accordingly ... facilities a more collective, albeit still power laden, process" (144). Practicing grounded theory helps clarify how both research participants and researchers are producers of knowledge through their relationships with each other.

Research in Place

In this section, I describe the events that I participated in in each place and other place-based particularities of my study.

Santa Barbara

My research in California is grounded in my participation as a climate justice activist in Santa Barbara since 2013. This has primarily been as a core member of 350 Santa Barbara. 350 Santa Barbara held weekly one hour meetings from 2013 through spring of 2014, was intensely involved in a ballot measure campaign from April 2014 to November 2014, and has met an average of once every two months since then. From the beginning, all 350 Santa Barbara members knew that I was a sociology graduate student studying environmental issues. I have also been a member of Students Against Fracking, System Change Not Climate Change (both active in spring 2014), and the Climate Justice Project (which I joined in 2013). I have attended many public hearings, information sessions, and demonstrations. My contacts and observations from these organizing experiences facilitated my research. In 2014, I participated in the Measure P campaign. In the role of 350 Santa Barbara's typical note

taker, I took extensive notes at public hearings and activist meetings that took place during that year. Being interested in gender, I also took notes on representation of men and women and gendered interactions that I perceived. I have taken these types of notes for most public protests that I have attended in Santa Barbara since 2013.

As part of my research in Santa Barbara, I conducted thirty-one interviews with people under thirty-five.[73] Many of these interviewees were, or had recently been, involved with student organizing and had facilitated university-community linkages that broadened awareness of and involvement in community environmental campaigns. Engaging with student activists enabled me to listen to the perspectives of more activists of color, who, though underrepresented in all environmental groups in Santa Barbara, are better represented in student groups.

Because many of the students I have organized with in activist groups at UCSB were budding scholars in a variety of disciplines, I asked them if they wanted to participate in the research. I did this to try moving from research *on*, toward research *with* and *for* communities (Koster, Baccar, and Lemelin 2012). I thought research might be a useful thing for youth interviewees to gain experience in and that my research would be more powerful with their input. I offered the opportunity to engage with the research in a variety of ways: interviewing, transcribing, coding, reviewing the literature, writing, and disseminating. Three people were interested in this and one, Amanda Lusk, ended up transcribing two interviews. At the end of each interview, I also asked youth interviewees if there was anything they thought I should add to the interview agenda, and what they thought of it. When I had written

[73] The definition of youth by the youth constituency (YOUNG) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change is persons under thirty-five.

a short publication based on their interviews and completed the chapter that focuses on them, I shared it with thirteen interviewees to ask for feedback. These were interviewees quoted in the writing, who I knew well, or who had expressed the most interest in providing feedback on the research. Only a few people ended up providing feedback, which I worked to incorporate in my writing. This experience was just one way in which I have learned about what accountability means. As Kum-Kum Bhavnani points out, part of practicing accountability is recognizing that scholars are accountable to many different constituencies—disciplines, departments, the academy, truth, objectivity, themselves, and research participants (Bhavnani and Talcott 2011).

In youth interviews, my agenda item on inclusivity and diversity focused on how youth got involved with activist groups, what if any barriers to their engagement existed, and how they would improve their experiences. The UCSB Chancellor's Sustainability Committee funded this component of my research and was interested in these questions and how activists' perspectives on them could inform diversity in sustainability programming and inclusivity in the framing of climate action and sustainability. In September 2015, I presented my research to the UCSB Chancellor's Sustainability Committee. The research findings, which documented a lack of attention to social justice and equity components of sustainability in UCSB programming, led the committee to more explicitly describe the "why" they do what they do. In the campus sustainability plan, they created environmental, social, and economic background sections for each chapter to encourage change agent teams (e.g. energy, or landscaping) to think about how their work related to each element.

I conducted all youth interviews during 2015 and the remaining Santa Barbara interviews in 2016. In spring 2016, I attended four UCSB Fossil Free meetings as an

observer who occasionally participated. At the state level, I have attended all major climate justice- and energy-related marches from 2014 to 2017. These included the four-thousand-

Figure 7. 350 Santa Barbara with giant sun puppet. March to Break Free from Fossil Fuels, Los Angeles, CA, May 2016.

person Don't Frack California Rally in Sacramento in 2014, the eight-thousand-person March for Real Climate Leadership in Oakland in 2015, the two thousand person March to Break Free from Fossil Fuels in Los Angeles in 2016, and the five hundred thousand person Women's March in Los Angeles in 2017. My participation in these events ranged from attendee with a sign, to bus captain (meaning that I managed transportation and attendance on the day of the march), to puppeteer. For the March to Break Free from Fossil Fuels, 350

Santa Barbara members and I built a fifteen-foot tall sun puppet that many of us wore during the march (Figure 7). In all, I marched alongside interviewees, friends, community members, and my partner. In fall 2015 I participated in the first 350 CA Convergence, a workshop for California-based 350.org group leaders, with Max Golding and Becca Claassen, two of the co-founders of 350 Santa Barbara. It confirmed that many of the practices that interviewees use to engage with issues of diversity and inclusivity are used by other local groups and the organization 350.org.

Idaho

My Idaho research is based on approximately three months of ethnographic fieldwork that I conducted over five trips in 2015. The trips took place in February, March, July, October, November, and December (see Table 6). During these trips, I investigated resistance to fracking in southwest Idaho (Payette, Gem, and Ada Counties), transportation of tar sands processing equipment on megaloads along Idaho highways (near Kooskia, Lewiston, and Moscow, ID), and megaloads and fossil fuel carrying trains in Sandpoint, ID. I spent just over seven weeks in southwest Idaho, where I stayed with Alma Hasse and Jim Plucinski, just over two weeks in Moscow, where I stayed with non-activist friends, and just under two weeks in Sandpoint, where I stayed with an interviewee who was involved as a volunteer in multiple organizations.

Table 6. Idaho Fieldwork Trips

Trip	Date	Total Days	Sites Visited
1	February and March 2015	9	All
2	July 2015	24	All
3	October 2015	18	Southwest Idaho
4	November 2015	10	Moscow and Sandpoint Idaho
5	December 2015	15	Southwest Idaho

There was little energy-related activism happening in Sandpoint and Moscow while I was there. Organizing events that I did observe were Wild Idaho Rising Tide's monthly meeting in Sandpoint in March 2015 and its protests of oil trains, including a projection of protest messages onto the downtown grain silo in Sandpoint, demonstrating on an intersection in Sandpoint, leafleting at the Sandpoint farmer's market, and tabling at a local music festival. These events all took place in July 2015. I also observed a presentation in Lewiston, Idaho about the movement to decommission the lower four Snake River dams (something many megaload opponents have now dedicated their energies to). Because of the lull in organizing, my visits to these places were concentrated on interviews and understanding the places that activists felt compelled to protect. I took many long drives with Helen Yost to see the routes the megaloads used and to enjoy the forests and lakes of northern Idaho. We visited the train station in Sandpoint and many different pullouts where an activist can try to snap a photo of an oil train travelling along or over Lake Pend Oreille. I drove the entirety of the Idaho portion of Highway 12 in the winter, stopping to do the interpretative walk at Heart of the Monster, the Nez Perce creation site. Having interviewed Lucinda Simpson, Paulette Smith, and Samantha Smith, three Nez Perce women, the night before, I pondered what this place meant for them and their communities—what it might feel

like to have megaloads disrupting its utter quiet. On other trips, I stopped at various historical markers on the Nez Perce National Historic Trail. I got to know the town of Sandpoint, explored Grangeville and Kooskia, and peered through the window at towns interviewees mentioned in their accounts: Syringa, Lapwai, Orofino. I knew Moscow quite well already, having lived there from 2008 to 2011.

In southwest, Idaho, I had an ethnographic experience that paralleled the intensity of the signature-gathering phase of Measure P. Nearly every day there was an event, meeting, hearing, or some resistance-related work to do. Alma welcomed me to tag along with her to everything. When there was not an event, I learned from talking to Alma or Jim. I often opened my bedroom door in the morning to Alma telling me about what Facebook conversation, phone call, or radio interview she had had since I had gone to sleep the night before. I would spend hours in the kitchen chatting with Jim about his perspective on recent events and CAIA. With Alma, I would go to the post office to pick up CAIA's mail, the bank to make CAIA deposits, the coffee shop where she, Tina Fisher, and Laura would meet, and to the natural gas wells and infrastructure sites that she liked to take people to. We took many trips to the Idaho State House in Boise (an hour-long drive) where she made public comments and videotaped proceedings. After these State House visits, which Alma always found aggravating, we would go to the Ram Restaurant, which made what Alma considered to be the best bloody mary in town.

Beyond these daily activities, and CAIA's weekly meetings, which often went on for six hours Wednesday nights, there were also special events. While I was there, CAIA hosted public forums in Fruitland and Emmett and gave presentations in Eagle—one at the City Hall and one in the living room of the widow of a former oil industry employee. I attended a 350

Idaho meeting, 350 Idaho film screening, and the first Idaho Climate Rally, which took place in October 2015. I visited a retrofitted Boise home that ran on renewable energy and excitedly monitored the electric charge in a CAIA member's hybrid car as we tried to coast down hills to make it home without using fossil fuel.

I almost always interviewed people at their homes. Those who were going to be or had been directly impacted by natural gas infrastructure showed me around their properties, pointing out where the infrastructure would go and the beautiful views that had made them move to that spot. I did my own exploring, driving through beet fields, next to confined animal feeding operations (CAFOs), along creeks and up to the old Black Canyon Dam, which interviewee Dottie Hawthorne saw as a liability should fracking cause an earthquake. I checked out the towns of New Plymouth, Fruitland, Nyssa, Payette, Ontario, Emmett, Eagle, and Boise, where I perused local news in coffee shops, walked along main streets, and drove around looking for properties featured in interviewees' conversations.

This section described my two primary methods: ethnographic fieldwork and in-depth interviewing (Burgess 1984). I now discuss my reflections on what I did and the philosophies that guided my work.

FEMINIST SCHOLAR ACTIVIST RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

My methodology centers feminist research principles outlined by Donna Haraway (1988) and Kum-Kum Bhavnani (1993) and scholar activist priorities emphasized by Laura Pulido (2008). These principles outline what it means to practice feminist objectivity, which is a critique of positivist philosophies of science that seek to create transcendental accounts of the

world as if "seeing everything from nowhere" (Haraway 1991:189). Feminist objectivity is developed through "situated knowledges" that prioritize explicit recognition of the researcher's *positionality,* the *partial* nature of her knowledge, and *accountability* to research participants (Haraway 1988). Bhavnani (1993) offers guidance on how feminist researchers might practice these principles while conducting empirial work. She advocates attentiveness to the *micropolitics* of social interactions and *explicit recognition of difference*, all with the goal of representing people in ways that do not *reinscribe* stereotypes. Pulido (2008) echoes Haraway's attention to accountability and also urges researchers to practice *reciprocity* with research participants, to give back to participants in some way.

Accountability

In the context of this research, I seek to reciprocate with and be accountable to people who share their time and energies with me in two ways: through writing and our relationships. In these practices, I acknowledge my positionality as an educated, white, middle-class, U.S. rural raised, young, married heterosexual woman and work to explore how the configurations of my identities, in relationship with the communities with whom I conduct research, inform knowledge production. In doing so, I recognize the *partial* nature of all research knowledge to leave space for unexpected openings and connections (see Bhavnani and Talcott 2011; Haraway 1988).

Being accountable in these ways requires a particular approach from the onset of research. My approach, grounded in the lived experience of people, is the Women, Culture, Development (WCD) paradigm (e.g. Bhavnani, Foran, and Kurian 2003b; Bhavnani, Foran,

and Talcott 2005; Bhavnani et al. 2009; Bhavnani and Talcott 2011; Chua, Bhavnani, and Foran 2000). I think of WCD as a worldview that informs my interests, the questions I want to explore, how I design my research, and what I pay attention to—in the field and in my writing. The WCD paradigm understands development as planned social transformation and culture as lived experience. It advocates centering the lived experience of women and their agency to explicate development. The focus on women is not meant to exclude men. Rather, it is "simply one starting point that is then able to illuminate the circumstances of all people's lives, including men's lives" (Bhavnani and Talcott 2011:138). Because of women's roles in social reproduction, their lives and actions illuminate, to a greater extent than men's, the "wonderful complexity" of configurations of reproduction, production, agency, and lived experience (Bhavnani and Talcott 2011:138). WCD asks us, as researchers and learners, to sit with complexity. For exploring complexity rather than seeking to smooth over or erase it, like embracing a partial rather than transcendental perspective, opens space for particularly situated readers to make unexpected connections (see Bhavnani and Talcott 2011). Interweaving these considerations, WCD is a lens that guides my research thinking, actions, and writing.

Writing

Dorothy Smith's work inspires my approach to accountable writing, how I think about readers. She argues that the goal of research should be to *write* sociology for women. She emphasizes that readers complete the meaning of texts and that readers are situated in particular contexts. As she explains,

> A sociology for women must be conscious ... that its meaning remains to be completed by a reader who is situated just as she is—a particular woman reading somewhere at a particular time amid the particularities of her everyday world—and that it is the capacity of our sociological texts, as she enlivens them, to reflect upon, to expand, and to enlarge her grasp of the world she reads in (1987:106).

I strive to write in a clear accessible way that facilitates readers' capacity to connect their personal lives—in all their complexity—to social issues, and in so doing, feel connected to other people working for a more just world. I write with interviewees and other activists in mind, for students of social change—students of all ages and within and beyond institutions of learning—and for scholars interested in using knowledge for climate justice.

I see the creation of knowledge as offering a source of inspiration, a tool, a method, and a flexible guide for social change. I align with Marx in this regard: "philosophers have only *interpreted* the world ... the point, however, is to *change* it" (Marx [1888] 1978:145). Writing a sociology for women, whose lived experience is vital to understanding reality and imagining new ways of living[74]—paths toward climate justice—is one way to work toward change. And I believe that working toward change is an ethical responsibility that the climate crisis makes particularly urgent.

Attending to micropolitics, difference, and reinscription, as Bhavnani (1993) advocates, is part of accountable writing. In this dissertation, I am particularly concerned with the micropolitics of power that comes from relationships to capital and the state. I investigate the micropolitics between grassroots activists, who are members of groups with marginal relationships to the state and low levels of capital, and nonprofit staff, who work for groups that have closer relationships to the state and higher levels of capital, and how

[74] WCD makes this clear, as does scholarship and activism in the environmental justice, climate justice, and ecofeminist traditions (see chapter two).

grassroots and nonprofit organizations work together to counter the fossil fuel industry, which holds high levels of power because of its links to the state, and tremendous capital. I devote chapter six to the micropolitics between grassroots and nonprofit activists because interviewees across configurations of identities highlighted tensions within these micropolitics that they wanted to resolve. This is the most explicit way in which my analysis attends to micropolitics.

My analysis reflects certain methodological and analytical decisions I made while thinking about micropolitics and difference. My observations of the micropolitics between people with different political ideologies and beliefs about climate change—and my surprise that they could work together despite those micropolitics!—informs my understanding of potentials for talking across lines and my decision to foreground working together as the unifying thread of this dissertation. That Nez Perce interviewees reported very positive interactions with white activists also informed this decision to focus on working together.

Attention to cultural difference motivated my use of a talking stick and listening circle methodology for my interview with three Nez Perce women. Sitting in a circle, we all passed around the recorder as a talking stick and listened to each other's perspectives on different themes (see Lavallée (2009) on the indigenous roots of listening circles, what she calls "sharing circles"). It is why I sought out youth of color's perspectives in Santa Barbara, as well as Chumash and Latinx activist perspectives on Measure P. I was less successful in the latter endeavor than in the former. There are a few reasons for this. First, according to Becca Claassen, the primary volunteer coordinator before and during the campaign, there was very low Measure P involvement, in terms of volunteering for campaign work, by Chumash and Latinx individuals. While it is possible that there was a bit more participation

than Becca, with her partial perspective, was aware of, I think this is unlikely. I was quite involved with the campaign myself and knew only a couple of people of color who were involved outside the University of California Santa Barbara (UCSB) campus.[75] Furthermore, a major critique of the campaign from interviewees was its failure to reach out to people of color communities (see chapter eight). The second main reason for low representation of Latinxs in my research is that, of the Latinx folks that Becca suggested I reach out to, only two responded and then only Hazel Davalos agreed to an interview. If I had lived in northern Santa Barbara County during this research (which is majority Latinx), I am confident I would have met more Latinx individuals who were involved and that these relationships would have helped me secure interviews. In sum, it was difficult to gain awareness of and access to the perspectives of Measure P activists of color outside UCSB. Around UCSB, my personal connections facilitated interviews with nine activists of color who comprise thirty-one percent of my twenty-nine interviews with youth. Of my total sample of 106, sixteen interviewees (fifteen percent) identified as people of color.

Two other elements of difference that inform my research are age and gender. I attend to age differences by devoting chapter five to young people's ideas for creating climate justice and by writing about the role that age played in the megaload and Measure P struggles in chapter eight. I attend to gender in a more implicit way.

When I began this research in 2015, I was focused entirely on gender. I noticed incredibly dedicated woman leaders in Idaho and Santa Barbara inspiring others to resist extreme energy extraction. The three women who influenced me the most before and during this research are Helen Yost, Becca Claassen, and Alma Hasse. I met Helen in 2011 when I

[75] See chapter eight for my analysis of race and climate justice activism in Santa Barbara.

was a senior at the University of Idaho in Moscow, Idaho. She was part of organizing a direct action training that I attended and one of a handful of community members who, alongside a group of students, built a megaload replica out of climbing rope and marched it through campus. This was the first time I had engaged in environmental activism. I received her weekly updates as part of her Climate Justice Forum radio program in my email from 2011 on.[76] In 2013, I joined 350 Santa Barbara and met Becca. Bubbling with energy, enthusiasm, and knowledge about climate change issues in Santa Barbara, she inspired me. She was one of the main reasons I took on as much activism as I did in the following year, co-captaining the UCSB signature collecting team who helped qualify Measure P for the 2014 ballot. I felt accountable to Becca. I could not let her down. She always asked me to take on leadership roles, which I learned was one of the best ways to get someone involved and keep them motivated. Next, I heard about Alma Hasse, who was leading the fight against natural gas extraction in southwest Idaho. In October 2014, just a month or so after I first contacted her, she spent seven days in jail for speaking out of turn during a county planning and zoning meeting regarding natural gas. At the time, she and Helen were friends,[77] so Helen visited her in jail and then sent out information via her newsletter, which is how I first heard about Alma's ordeal. In the xxcheck five weeks I spent living with Alma the following year, I learned first hand how sincere, tough, and selfless she is in her work to keep the natural gas industry from steam rolling over Idaho residents. These same words characterize Helen and Becca. The three of them make me hopeful about the future of our world.

[76] Listen to Climate Justice Forum Mondays from 7:30-9:00 pm on KRFP Radio Free Moscow http://radiofreemoscow.org/.

[77] In 2014, Alma and Helen's friendship ended when the two had a falling out over tactics and communication strategies on Facebook.

With these amazing women in mind, I began my research and proposed the title, "Dorothy and Goliath: Women Resisting Extreme Energy Extraction." However, when I started asking Alma, Becca, and Helen, and the many other dedicated women and men that work with them, about gender, I discovered it was not something most were thinking about. Most interviewees, when asked about gender representation, *had* noticed that women were the majority of participants in their groups and events. They offered a wide range of responses for why this might be: women are more nurturing, caring, mothers, and connected to the earth; they are wired differently than men, like mama bears protecting their kin; they are well equipped, because of their socialization, to excel at tasks like organizing people, working together, and multitasking, which were all important for activism; they have more flexible work schedules and like socializing more; they are less interested in, or compelled by, making a lot of money and excelling in a capitalist sense; they are the backbone of communities. These reasons were consistent with what other scholars have found and so did not seem to illuminate something new. More importantly, gender differences were not what interviewees were interested in. It was not what they highlighted when I asked about diversity and inclusivity in their activist groups. From our conversations, it became clear that they were interested in figuring out how to work together with other people (men and women, young and old, of different racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds) and other groups focused on justice, broadly defined.

I struggled with what to do about this. In the end, I chose to be accountable to interviewees' priorities, puzzles, and insights. I also realized, however, that their insights—their ways of working together—are gendered because they draw on practices and values that align with feminist and ecofeminist epistemologies and with skills that women practice

during socialization. My analysis is also gendered because most of my data come from women, who were the majority of interviewees and the people I spent the most time with during my fieldwork and participation in activist activities. Therefore, in framing the analysis in chapter two, I highlight connections between gender and environmental activism to give the reader background on the broader context in which my analysis is situated.

Micropolitics and difference are also tied up in my positionality. My race, high level of education, and gender matched that of most of my interviewees. My whiteness made me unsure about whether Nez Perce or Chumash interviewees would want to share their stories with me, given their historical and contemporary experiences with white colonizers. Thus, I felt lucky to be introduced to Nez Perce tribal member Julian Matthews, who founded Nimiipuu Protecting the Environment, by my mentor Leontina Hormel. Nimiipuu is the Nez Perce name for themselves; it means "the people." A sociologist, Leontina had been engaged with Julian and other Nez Perce individuals in a study that was truly *with* and *for* the Nez Perce (see Hormel and Norden 2016; Koster, Baccar, and Lemelin 2012). Julian, and other tribal members whom I would interview, trusted Leontina. I think her introduction was critical for their willingness to share their stories with me. After I interviewed Julian, he helped connect me with Paulette and Samantha Smith and Lucinda Simpson, whom I later conversed with during a listening circle. Following our interview, Lucinda honored me with the gift of an eagle feather (see Figure 8).

Figure 8. Lucinda Simpson, Paulette Smith, and Samantha Smith present an eagle feather to me. Lucinda collected the feathers from an eagle that had been killed by a powerline. While she was talking with God the creator, he told her to "be giving of the feathers."

In Santa Barbara, Becca Claassen introduced me to Chumash tribal member Michael Cordero, and his wife Charisse. They had both known Becca for a while and were happy to sit down with me. I was less unsure about how youth of color might receive my interview requests because I had personally organized or interacted with most of them, or their close friends, before I began this research.

My gender made me look to many of the women I interviewed as role models. I was excited to begin my interviews with a conversation with Madeline Stano, a twenty-seven-year-old attorney for the Center on Race, Poverty, and the Environment who I had seen give speeches to thousands of people at California marches and who defends working class Latinx

families in Kern County, California, the heart of the state's fracking operations. Madeline is someone whom I deeply admire. My gender also facilitated experiences that would have been less likely had I been a man. Alma and I would go on morning walks together, to chat, and for exercise. During my first trip to Sandpoint, Helen and I shared a bed together. Alma and her girlfriends (who also resisted natural gas) invited me to their weekend coffee dates where the "girls" would get together to talk about their week. These conversations were mostly about oil and gas.

Except when interacting with youth interviewees, I tended to be younger than research participants. Eighty-one interviewees (seventy-six percent) were older than me, with forty-one (thirty-nine percent) over sixty years old. I was twenty-five and twenty-six while conducting the interviews. My age and status as a graduate student facilitated my role as a learner. In general, I found people very willing to share with me. Some older interviewees apologized to me for the high-carbon lifestyles of their generation. They asked me how I, as a young person, felt about climate change. Others thought my generation was not hard-working enough and apathetic. Others thought that young people like me were going to change the world. Young people candidly critiqued the organizing styles of the more elderly members of their groups.

Finally, my own connection to place played an important role in my interactions with research participants. I strongly identify as someone from Idaho. I lived in Idaho from age seven to twenty-one, with about a year spent in other places for school. My connection to Idaho was one reason I wanted to do research there. I wanted to be informed about what was happening and to build connections with people trying to preserve a way of life that I hold dear. This connection also facilitated my research, both in terms of previous contacts I had in

Moscow, Idaho and by making me a kind of insider. Though I was coming from California, I was not "one of *those* Californians" that long-time Idaho residents see as trying to change Idaho.[78] As Bell (2016) has shown, being perceived as an outsider because of where you are from, or because of your opposition to industry and local elites, can be damaging for social relationships. Many of my interviewees played up their "local" or insider status, frequently referencing how long they had lived in Idaho, confirming that "outsider stigma" is real and something to be avoided. Being in Idaho, even not where I grew up, also facilitated the research because I felt at home. I find long stretches of ethnographic fieldwork spent away from my family and kitchen very draining. Feeling at home, because of place, made my mental health better than it might have been in a different place.

On the other hand, being a California resident, who has built up relationships in the community over years, facilitated my insider status in Santa Barbara. In this setting, I was not just a graduate student passing through, but someone who had worked alongside people for years. Grassroots activists trusted me to tell "our" story—Measure P from the perspective of the people who started it, from the grassroots perspective. Nonprofit staff also trusted me. They had seen me at local events and hearings and knew that I had been involved with Measure P from the beginning.

In both research settings, I work to destabilize, rather than reinscribe stereotypes about people and places. This is particularly clear in my analysis about conservative people

[78] In recent years, Californians have been moving to Idaho in great numbers. In 2015, a quarter of all new residents moving to the state came from California (Siegler 2017). According to Siegler's (2017) NPR report, many are driven by a desire to move to more conservative communities. This characterizes the motivations to move of some of the core southwest Idaho anti-fracking activists who are California transplants. This spatial trajectory is also part of my own history. My parents are both from California.

and climate change skeptics resisting natural gas development. I think my attention to ways of, and ideas for, working together, across tribal identities, and across different movement sectors, also destabilizes assumptions of divides and fractures in the environmental movement. Historian Patricia Limerick, for example, writes about opposition to oil and gas as "fractured" (Limerick 2016). While there are differences in the movement, I do not think they represent cracks or gulfs that cannot become connected, as the word fracture denotes. I like the metaphor of a quilt better. A quilt can be made with other people and it can connect different pieces without dampening any of their particularities. If anything, when viewed together, the pieces of a quilt become more vibrant. The whole quilt is greater and indeed stronger than the sum of its parts. Developing this narrative is one way that I seek to destabilize stereotypes. Finally, just as I show unexpected resistance in a conservative place, I also show the ugly underside of California's liberal politics and how progressive climate action does not always equate to just energy policies. Santa Barbara demonstrates this on a county scale.

There are two remaining ways in that I practiced accountability in my analysis and representations of research participants. First, with the approval of the UCSB Human Subjects Committee, I offered interviewees the option of using their real names. All but twenty-four used their full first and last names. Others choose to use just their first name or a pseudonym. A few wanted me to send them my writing to decide whether or not to use a pseudonym, which I did. Using real names is important because it gives people credit for their ideas. Many of my interviewees are very public activists. Using interviewees' names also gives readers the ability to learn more about interviewees' work and to perhaps even link up with them and their organizations. This is a way in which my writing can serve as a

movement-building tool—informing people of others working for similar causes. Finally, using real names forces me, in a way that pseudonyms would not, to consider what interviewees will think when they read my work and about how my representation of their words might affect their relationships with other people.

The last way I practiced accountability in my analysis and representations of research participants, was by seeking feedback. While writing this dissertation, I condensed elements of my analysis in four short essays (Grosse 2016; Grosse 2017; Grosse forthcoming-a; Grosse forthcoming-b)—two are included in modified form in chapter eight. I shared each of these pieces of writing with research participants who represented different perspectives and positionalities and incorporated their feedback before submitting the writing for publication. While I shared my entire youth chapter with some youth interviewees, it proved too long for anyone to make time to read. This was despite the skills and relatively large blocks of unscheduled time available to youth interviewees (because they were college students). Since even these most likely candidates for chapter feedback could not make the time to read, I think writing short essays that exemplify core parts of a larger manuscript's argument is an effective way, respectful of people's busy lives, to enhance accountability and validity in analysis and representations.

Relationships

So far, I have written about being accountable through analysis and writing. The other primary way of being accountable, through relationships, resonates with Marx's ([1888] 1978) and Smith's (1987) emphasis on materiality—the material conditions that shape and

are shaped by people in relationships with humans and the more-than-human world. Engaging in the material world, through face-to-face relationships, rather than texts, is another method for change-making through research. This is also the main way I practice reciprocity. From my own and colleague's experiences (see also Pulido 2008), I know that creating a *scholarly* contribution that also makes concrete contributions to communities and movements is difficult. So, while I see this as an important goal to strive for, I also recognize that I can practice reciprocity in the short term through relationships.

I engaged in reciprocity by helping with the everyday work of activism. During Measure P and in my engagement with Santa Barbara interviewees afterwards, I did this by making phone calls, going door to door, taking meeting notes, facilitating meetings, writing, translating, doing research and media outreach, making posters, testifying at public hearings, and showing up to events. In southwest Idaho, I took meeting notes, drove activists to meetings and hearings, did research, wrote newspaper articles, made a media contact list, edited documents, made flyers, publicized an event, and helped CAIA members learn how to use Google Drive and MailChimp (a free newsletter software) as organizing tools. I entered all of their contacts into Google Drive so all board members could have access at all times (for more on my ethnographic practice in southwest Idaho, see Grosse 2016). For all interviewees, I offered to pay for a drink, if we met at a café, and, following interviews, asked them if they had any questions for me. I intend to send my dissertation to those who asked if they could read it, and to eventually send groups a copy of the book I will publish based on this research. I sent one interviewee his interview, and have sent or intend to send five other interviewees their transcripts.

I also prioritized reciprocity in relation to less explicitly movement-oriented activities

by cleaning spaces, giving rides, paying for, sharing, and cooking meals, and carrying and hanging out with children. As Talcott (2008) importantly notes, and as I have experienced many times, it is the reproductive labor of women that makes research and climate justice work possible. After leaving the field, I sent grant and workshop opportunities to CAIA. I nominated Alma Hasse and CAIA for the Community Sentinel Award for Environmental Stewardship, which they won in 2016.[79] Alma and her husband Jim were flown to Washington D.C. for an awards ceremony and received $1000 to put into CAIA's work. It was one of the most rewarding things I have done. I was very glad that I broke my no computer rule, while on my honeymoon, to submit the nomination. I knew that the trip, being recognized, and getting to meet like-minded anti-fracking activists, would be a needed energy boost for Alma and Jim. In Santa Barbara, I have continued to participate in 350 Santa Barbara and related groups, though on a more limited level as I have focused on writing this dissertation and leaving Santa Barbara to start my next chapter in life. These activities are ways of being accountable to, and reciprocating with, the groups of which I am a part, being a member whom people can count on. In both states, my identity, skills, and experience as an activist facilitated my capacity to contribute. In the words of Laura Pulido (2008), my rootedness in both places and in activism, allowed me to know where my time should be spent. This, for example, explains why my primary role in CAIA was note taker. I knew from experience with 350 Santa Barbara that I am a fast typist and produce notes that people find useful, so I volunteered to fill this role for CAIA, which they welcomed.

[79] See https://www.fractracker.org/2016/08/environmental-stewards-accept-sentinel-award/ for more information on the award.

This chapter details my research methods and how they embody feminist research principles of accountability and reciprocity. In the next chapter, I begin my analysis with a look at how talking across lines occurs in southwest Idaho and more specifically, how the group Citizens Allied for Integrity and Accountability practices this method for working across lines.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Art of Agreeing to Disagree: Citizens Allied for Integrity and Accountability

> Imagine taking a piece of paper and folding it in half, [there's] the left side and the right side and the line in the middle is the center, list all the things that different political affiliations would land on. So obviously on the left, you would have abortion, and abortion on the right too, you would have maybe guns on the right and you know, list everything, and then try to find things down the center that people, that both people, both mindsets, would see a common interest [in].
>
> – Jim Plucinski, Board Member, Citizens Allied for Integrity and Accountability

Talking across lines is about finding things down the center, as Jim explains. The inspiration for this idea comes from Jim's paper metaphor, which he used to explain how the group with which he organizes—Citizen's Allied for Integrity and Accountability (CAIA), approaches organizing against fracking in southwest Idaho. The dedication to drawing on common values to communicate fracking, connect and build relationships with community members, and mobilize and empower new activists arose repeatedly in my time with CAIA and its members. Jim, for example, following his own advice, identified water and road conditions as core concerns of farmers and themes that CAIA could draw on to secure farmer's support. Private property rights was another theme that CAIA emphasized to convince homeowners of many political persuasions of the importance of resisting natural gas. These were messages that, alongside values rooted in care, fairness, and quality of life, enabled CAIA members to talk and work across lines of difference that typically prevent collaboration. In this chapter, I analyze how people strive to, accomplish, and fail to talk across lines, using the fight against

natural gas development in Idaho as a case. I focus specifically on how people talk across *political* lines, addressing lines of identity in other chapters.

I open with a vignette of the 2016 U.S. presidential election, a series of events characterizing the context in which interviewees expressed and developed their views on politics and organizing. This account illustrates two key points. First, it displays the polarizing nature of labels in political rhetoric and consequently, the need to talk across lines by drawing on common values. Secondly, it evidences the promise of one of this dissertation's core themes: relational organizing.[80]

On February 18, 2016, Bernie Sanders, self-proclaimed socialist competitor for the Democratic candidate for the 2016 U.S. presidential election sent out a campaign email. In it, he highlighted how his campaign was succeeding because of support from working people, not elites (the Sanders campaign boasted about raising the majority of its funds from small donors).[81] Elites, unable to drive his campaign, had lashed out in the lead-up to the February 20 caucus in Nevada, "not just at Bernie, but at you." A bullet point in the email read, "Bill Clinton compared supporters powering our political revolution – people like you – to the Tea Party. The Tea Party!"

Just two months prior, in December 2015, I had been spending a lot of time with folks sympathetic to tea party ideas. With one, seventy-six-year-old Dottie Hawthorne, I had even had a productive conversation about Bernie Sanders. In our interview, Dottie had described

[80] See chapter six for more in-depth discussion of how interviewees defined this term.

[81] Thomas (2016) reported that nearly three-quarters of donations to Sanders were under $200 and that the average donation to the Sanders campaign in 2015 was $27.16. In contrast, just seventeen percent of the donations received by Hilary Clinton, Sanders's rival in the presidential primary, were under $200 (Thomas 2016).

socialism and communism as close to one another and "frightening, so frightening." "You cannot take from the rich and give to the poor ... you need to give the poor incentives to grow and to earn and to be proud of themselves.... It's against my way of thinking common sense." Later, disgusted with both political "sides of the aisle" of U.S. politics, Dottie asked:

> As far as our people who are going to run for president, my goodness, which one would you choose, if you, no political affiliation, just which of the candidates would you choose right now?
>
> Corrie: Bernie.
>
> Dottie: And why?
>
> Corrie: Because he's a socialist.
>
> Dottie: And you think socialism is good?
>
> Corrie: Yeah.
>
> Dottie: I guess I need to know why you think that.

We proceeded to discuss socialism, welfare, and conservatism. Though Dottie was not convinced at the end our conversation that Bernie was "who we can count on to see that [taxation] is done right," she did say, "eh, food for thought huh, very interesting, I have not read very much about Bernie Sanders." Here, in this brief statement, I see a kernel of hope. Dottie, a seventy-six-year-old conservative rancher, and me, a twenty-five-year-old woman who has spent her last four years under the mentorship of radical Marxist sociologists in California—the bastion of liberalism in the United States—were able to have a calm, respectful conversation about socialism. We did not shoot each other down, but listened, and, based on listening, offered examples and perspectives gleaned from our lived experiences. We shared our views with each other. We talked across lines. Part of talking across our lines of difference was agreeing to disagree, being able to sit with that disagreement while

enjoying each other's company and appreciating each other's contribution to our common cause—the fight against fracking.

This is the kind of conversation I see becoming more possible because of Citizens Allied for Integrity and Accountability's organizing practices. It is one that necessitates a relationship of trust, which usually, and especially when two people hold opposing views, requires time.

Bernie's email to me, had Dottie read it, would have undone any progress she and I made in communicating to each other. It was an email to bind *certain* people together *against* others. In this case, others were tea partiers and the Democratic establishment à la Bill and Hillary Clinton (Bernie's competitor). This type of writing denies the possibility of conservative people working for progressive change, people like interviewees Jan and Wayne. Jan and Wayne were former leaders of a local tea party group[82] and core members of CAIA. As Jan explained, "People are usually surprised because we feel the way we feel about oil and gas [and] are Republicans or conservative. It's like you can't be that way. And

[82] Jan and Wayne, who identified as Independents, stressed the local character of their tea party group, and the diversity of tea parties more generally. Wayne identified limiting government control and spending as the one unifying theme for tea parties. As Wayne explained, "The tea party is strictly a grassroots local issue type of thing. Some of them [tea party groups] have gone national, but for us, it was strictly a local issue.... It is just getting control of our legislatures, out of the pockets of the lobbyists who right now are running this country. And so it's just taking control of our whole system, back again. And basically that's it. And as far as the national, nobody dictates to anybody about what a tea party can stand for. Literally. There are no rules. There are no guidelines.... [Locally] when the gas and oil company came in and were literally dictating what we will do, what we will not do, that sort of stuff, people from all sides, Democrats, Republicans, Independents, Constitutionalists, they all came together.... you are fighting the corporations and so even though most people [say the grassroots of the tea party] are a conservative group of people—I would agree nationally they are—but for here, I would say close to sixty percent [of members in the local tea party group] are conservative, forty percent are not. So you've got a real good mixed bag."

it's like, 'What do you mean?' If you are thinking, really thinking about the issue and you don't like it, it has nothing to do with what your beliefs are politically." Wayne's language was more colorful: "Politics does not play a role in this big picture [of oil and gas]. I don't give a rat's behind about your political affiliation, I want to stop these assholes from what they are doing." Jan and Wayne were able to organize with self-identified Democratic anti-fracking activists because the group expressly rejected stereotypes embedded within political labels. In fact, the group worked to avoid use of labels entirely, in their messaging and internal discussion, something I delve into in the section "Check your party affiliation at the door" (page 171). What is the effect then, of pitting Bernie supporters against Tea Partiers? Might it be more productive for building progressive change, for building climate justice, to think and communicate in unifying, rather than dividing terms? As Alma Hasse said: "I care about my fellow humans, that's all" (Fieldnotes 10/16/15).[83]

In this chapter, I delve into what it means to talk across political lines, typically those that demarcate conservative and liberal ideologies. I draw on what I learned from folks resisting fracking in western Idaho, from how they talked with their fellow group members, and, as I observed in my time living with group members, how they spoke to people like the dishwasher repairman, or the postal worker they encountered in their daily lives. Talking across lines works when activists check political affiliation and beliefs about climate change at the door, expose the *roots* of injustice, and focus on core values of respect, responsibility, trustworthiness, caring, fairness, and citizenship (see CAIA's definitions of these on page 151) as motivations. CAIA articulates the roots of injustice as lack of integrity and

[83] Ecofeminists (e.g. Gaard 2011; 2015) and critical animal studies scholars (e.g. Best 2007) rightfully note that climate and any other kind of justice also requires interspecies justice.

accountability.[84] When people can come to the organizing table around shared values, they can then build relationships and trust, and then, perhaps, move on to changing their ideas, values, and goals as they learn from each other. Mobilization is about movement of the heart (Tsing 2004); core values pull at the heart, calling a person to action. In effect, talking across lines builds unity against the fossil fuel industry's efforts to divide.[85] However, this practice is not neat or always successful. Like any social process with progressive potential, it is rich with friction, to borrow from Anna Tsing (2004). Openness to messiness, to what Kum-Kum Bhavnani (2003a) has called the "glorious tangle"[86] of, in this case, perspectives on life, is central to talking across lines. To illuminate the complicated nature of talking across lines, I explore how this messiness manifests within individual beliefs that change over time, and in social interactions.

[84] Activists in other wings of the movement articulate the roots as capitalism. Capitalism is utterly unaccountable to people and planet. Thus, CAIA's roots and the roots identified in other parts of the movement are compatible—the same thing in different words.

[85] Within the cases I explore in this dissertation, fossil fuel companies (Alta Mesa in southwest Idaho) and related political organizations (Californians for Energy Independence, whose donors included Chevron and Aera Energy, in Santa Barbara) have worked to divide communities. Bell (2016) finds that the coal industry in central Appalachia also works to divide communities.

[86] Bhavnani uses this term to refer to how production (labor related to the market) and reproduction (labor related to reproducing the family: things like childcare, cooking, cleaning, and raising children) are tangled in life. Children waking from naps, asking for snacks and wondering what interviewees and I were up to, during fieldwork for this project, illustrate, in smile- and laugh-producing ways, this type of tangle.

METHODS AND CONTEXT[87]

This chapter is based on ethnographic fieldwork and twenty-eight interviews with residents of Idaho counties faced with existing or imminent natural gas development, as well as local nonprofit staff working on oil and gas.

Within this research site, I interviewed most members of CAIA after two weeks or more of conducting participant observation. Spending time with people before conducting interviews helped me build rapport and have a sense of their role in the group.

Sixty percent of interviewees are women, reflecting a general trend of half if not the majority of group participants and outspoken community members being women. One interviewee identifies as Native American, one Basque, and one White and Hispanic. The remaining interviewees self identify as white or a mix of European heritages. One declined to state her race and ethnicity. Eighty-two percent live with a heterosexual partner or spouse and of those, seventy-eight percent have a spouse or partner who also participates in the movement. Forty-three percent have young or college age children, and twenty-five percent are originally from Idaho. Eighty-two percent are homeowners (see comparisons across Idaho locations in Table 7). Sixty-seven percent of homeowners know they own their mineral rights. Some, like Luke and Brynna Smith, Tina Fisher, or Joli, had or had had a natural gas well or processing plant planned for the lot next to their homes. The white stake for one proposed well was about 200 feet from the play set that Luke and Brynna had built for their four children (see Figure 10 on page 135).

[87] See chapter four for a more detailed explanation. See chapter three for more information on the context of Idaho and natural gas development.

Table 7. 2014 Idaho Population Estimates, Western Idaho Research Sites

	Population	65 or Older	White	Homeowner	College	Income	Poverty
U.S.	318857056	14.5%	77.4%	64.4%	29.3%	$28,555	14.8%
Idaho	1634464	14.3%	93.5%	69.2%	25.4%	$23,087	14.8%
Counties							
Ada	426236	12.6%	92.4%	67.3%	36.4%	$28,318	11.6%
Gem	16866	21.4%	95.0%	72.8%	16.9%	$20,623	15.9%
Payette	22836	17.0%	94.4%	75.4%	15.0%	$20,332	14.2%
Cities							
Eagle[A]	22502	13.4%	94.6%	81.4%	45.9%	$39,930	5.8%
Emmett[G]	6599	19.7%	90.4%	57.2%	15.6%	$15,544	28.1%
Fruitland[P]	4761	11.0%	91.7%	73.6%	14.4%	$38,801	14.3%
New Plymouth[P]	1943	16.2%	96.0%	70.3%	12.4%	$21,223	17.2%

Note: Letters following cities match first letter of county name.
Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey
White: applies to persons who identify as of one race.
Homeownership: Owner-occupied housing unit rate
College: Bachelor's degree or higher, persons 25 years or older
Income: per capita in last 12 months
Poverty: persons in poverty

The residents of Gem county had seen seismic testing conducted—with 60,000 pound thumper trucks, giant trucks with square steel slabs at the base that vibrate the earth—in their neighborhoods, and heard helicopters flying low over homes carrying seismic equipment. Alma and Jim had yet to see leasing happen near them, but lived just within the southern border of Payette County where all of Idaho's drilled wells currently exist. Kathy Anchustegui and Tina Fisher had leased (Kathy had given permission for seismic testing and Tina had leased her mineral rights). Other interviewees live in Eagle, a wealthier community (see Table 7) adjacent to the capitol city of Boise, where the natural gas company Alta Mesa had leased much land. On CAIA's board and in its membership, highest degree levels range from high school to graduate degrees. Interviewees' occupations were wide ranging. I

interviewed a bookkeeper, paramedic, five small business owners, an engineer, one stay at home mom, a surgical technician, and two organic farmers, to name some of the occupations. In sum, interviewees are diverse across lines of class, political values, and proximity (both geographically and temporally) to natural gas development.

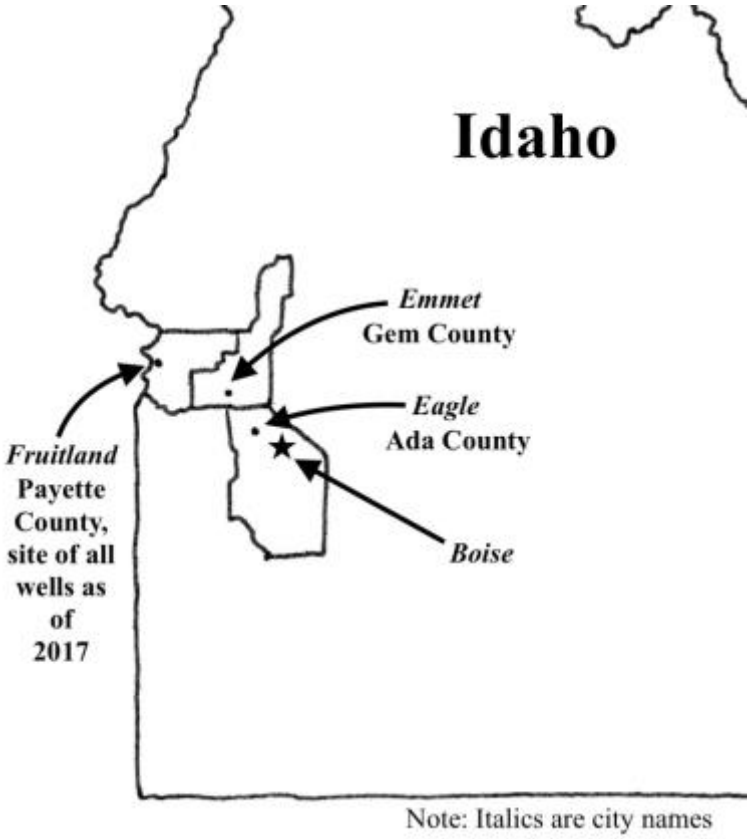

Figure 9. CAIA organizing locations as of January 2016—towns of Fruitland, Emmett, and Eagle, Idaho. Scale: Boise to Fruitland along Interstate 84 is 54 miles, approximately 1 hour by car.

TALKING ACROSS LINES

Talking across these lines happens when people with differences that typically divide are able to come together for collaboration on a substantial common goal. I say substantial, rather than long term, because CAIA has only existed for about two years. They are, however, working on a substantial goal in that their lawsuits *require* large time commitments to continue raising money for legal fees. Filing a legal suit together is a substantial endeavor and works towards a substantial goal, in this case, overturning the legality of forced pooling[88] in the state of Idaho.

CAIA relies on identifying shared values and concerns to talk across lines and build unlikely alliances.[89] Defining common values, messages, and goals, as well as those things

[88] Forced pooling is a method whereby an oil and gas company can ask a state to force a certain percentage of mineral rights owners in a certain area or "pool" to lease their mineral rights, against their will, if a certain percentage of other mineral rights owners have agreed. In Idaho, this threshold for integration is only fifty-five percent. This means owners of forty-five percent of minerals have no choice over whether they want extraction to occur beneath their homes. People who don't own minerals have no say at any point.

[89] There have been other unlikely alliances built around energy and environmental issues. The Green Tea Coalition, composed of the Atlanta Tea Party Patriots and the Sierra Club, lobbied Georgia's Public Service Commission to require Georgia Power (the state's largest utility) to buy more solar power. The Cowboy Indian Alliance, composed of ranchers, farmers, and tribal communities from along the Keystone XL pipeline route, formed in response to the proposed Keystone XL Pipeline in the United States. The pipeline, rejected by President Obama in 2015, was restarted by President Trump in 2017. In 1999, the Teamsters and Turtles alliance of trade union activists and environmentalists united around concerns about free trade to protest the World Trade Organization (WTO) summit in Seattle. These campaigns came together around literal common ground, physical elements of energy infrastructure on land, and also more abstract common ground, such as the importance of worker's rights and environmental sustainability. They relied on shared common values—land, water, health, and having a say in energy sources—and/ or recognition of common enemies. The Green Tea Coalition came together in recognition of how the Georgia Public Service Commission and Georgia Power were impinging upon alliance members' values and goals—freedom of individual choice, for the Tea Party Patriots, and green energy, for the Sierra Club. The Cowboy Indian Alliance shared the common value of land *and* the common

which are not part of the alliance, requires deliberate ongoing work on the part of CAIA's members. Before detailing the processes by which CAIA creates and maintains its unlikely alliance, I detail CAIA members' journeys into activism. These journeys form the basis of their perspectives on and practices for talking across lines.

SHATTERED ROSE-COLORED GLASSES: CAIA MEMBERS' ENTRY INTO ORGANIZING

Though many CAIA members rarely recognized it at first, all but a few had engaged in some kind of community organizing before they found CAIA. Much of this organizing was not engaged with formal political processes. For example, interviewees had organized boy and girl scouts groups, square dance clubs, choirs, and church groups. Three couples had helped change regulations in their communities. William Johnson and Alma Hasse both cut their activist teeth on issues with close links to opposing oil and gas. William Johnson had fought the installation of a nuclear power station and had helped Alma in her fight against confined animal feeding operations (CAFOs[90]). The former fight resulted in the nuclear developer being indicted for fraud and the latter resulted in policy change. With the exception of interviewees working for environmental nonprofits (six), the Dills, who owned an organic farm, and two Boise climate activists, none of the people I interviewed had ever been

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enemy of the Keystone XL Pipeline. Blue green (labor and environmental) alliances have recognized common enemies (the WTO) and common goals—health, justice, and green jobs.

[90] The USDA Natural Resources Conservation Service (n.d.) defines a CAFO as an animal feeding operation (AFO) "with more than 1000 animal units (an animal unit is defined as an animal equivalent of 1000 pounds live weight and equates to 1000 head of beef cattle, 700 dairy cows, 2500 swine weighing more than 55 pounds, 125 thousand broiler chickens, or 82 thousand laying hens or pullets) confined on site for more than 45 days during the year. Any size AFO that discharges manure or wastewater into a natural or man-made ditch, stream or other waterway is defined as a CAFO, regardless of size."

involved in issues they described as environmental. Alma, a CAIA board member and the first person, along with Tina Fisher, who tried to mobilize people to fight natural gas in Idaho, has, as she does for most topics, a colorful story about how she got started in her activism.

Extremists, Hippies, and Birkenstocks: Ambivalence about "Activist"

Before I tell Alma's story, a brief word on "activist." Few of the interviewees whose stories I discuss in this chapter describe themselves as activists. However, in the course of our interviews, many explored the activist label as they addressed my question, *how do you describe yourself*?, which I typically followed with examples, *activist? organizer? concerned citizen?* A few came to the conclusion that actually, they were activists, because activists are not limited to the stereotypical image of an extreme, protesting, dreads and Birkenstock wearing hippie, to borrow imagery from multiple interviewees.[91]

> I used to, I am ashamed to say this Corrie, don't hold it against me, I used to say environmentalists were Birkenstock wearing hippies with too much time on their hands. Now I know they don't wear Birkenstocks, don't have enough time, and think, "where would we be without them?" We are lucky to have them (Alma, Fieldnotes 3/1/15).

[91] This imagery is likely of white environmentalists with dread locks. A salon in Boise, Idaho specializing in dreadlocks touts "anyone can have dreads" and features photos of people with dreads styled at the salon. Few of these people are people of color, matching Idaho's demographics (see http://www.femmefatalestyles.com/).

Alma's admission is emblematic of how interviewees' conceptions of activists transformed over time. Luke and Brynna Smith and Stealth Officer (pseudonym chosen by interviewee)[92] also illustrate this change in understanding of what an activist is.

Luke and Brynna, a couple in their early thirties, described themselves as concerned homeowners and parents. They thought activists were viewed with suspicion in their community, as "squeaky wheels" (Brynna Smith). "If you've been labeled an extremist or an activist you are just ... not wanting to be listened to" (Luke Smith). Luke contrasted this with what he saw as people's perception of the oil[93] company: people think "oh, the oil company, they said it's going to be okay and they wore nice suits, they were very respectful" (Luke Smith). Neighbors told Luke and Brynna that they should be careful speaking out about the proposed well next to their children's playground. The neighbors said, "you don't want them to start you know totally discounting what you say because you have been pushing the issue" (Brynna Smith).

[92] This interviewee was like an "officer" or leader in the group, but because he kept his identity concealed, he was a "stealth officer."

[93] Interviewees use oil and gas interchangeably. I use both terms and industry.

Figure 10. Looking through the slats of the living room window, the Smith's children play in the backyard. The stake for the planned natural gas well is just next to the tallest telephone pole on the left, noted with an arrow.

Brynna explains:

> So that right there spoke volumes to me about the way people view anyone who really stands up for what they think is right, you know. So what, can I write like three letters to the newspaper or something, what's my limit here before you start thinking I am crazy? (Brynna Smith)

The threat of a well next to their home made the Smiths aware of the importance of speaking out. They began to value the work of activists like Alma, and started speaking out themselves.

Discussing the way that gas production processes worked, where "unless you object you are considered ... consenting," Luke said, "you almost have to be an activist just to stop something or let people know, 'hey, we need to re-think this or look this over before we continue on,' because a simple mistake or simple yes ... can completely wipe this town out." Luke thought it was silly that "you either ... your kids better be drinking oil when they eat

their dinner or you are a complete activist and you have dreads and everything else, it's one or the other is how it's viewed." Both he and Brynna were interested in ensuring that things in their community were done responsibly and they did not think that was extreme. The categories of pro-oil and extreme activist are too constrained for people like Luke and Brynna and the many other concerned individuals who identify with neither of these categories.

As we continued, Brynna talked about how most people who think activists are extreme are not willing to "stand up for anything ever" and how she and Luke had been guilty of that. Luke interjected: "we used to call 'em patriots." "Huh? The activists?," asked Brynna. Yes, Luke explained, the people who "freaked out, [got] people together, did something" to address taxation without representation before the Revolutionary war, they were activists. Encapsulated in this discussion on what it means to be an activist is Luke and Brynna's larger journey from never having engaged in politics, to having their names on the lawsuit against Alta Mesa (the gas developer in Idaho) and considering organizing a petition for enhanced oil and gas safety regulations. Their experience resisting oil and gas had not only changed their view of the industry, but also of the social forces that speak out in communities.

As a final example of this transformation, Stealth Officer, who had also never been involved in anything like this before, succinctly described how he went from being a non-activist to an activist because of oil and gas:

> I don't really consider myself an activist, kind of more an activist because we landed right in the middle of it, it fell into our laps. So I feel like a, I feel like I'm kind of converting, or still on the fence, but I consider, yeah if I was asked point blank "are you an activist?", then yes, at the moment I am. But you know as far as describing myself as one, yeah, I never really thought about it, I guess I am, I can look at myself

> and what I do and what's important to me, then absolutely I'd consider myself an activist. (Stealth Officer)

Ambivalence, being "on the fence" about activism, was common. The Animal Liberation Front has called Alma "the 'Cesar Chavez' . . . of the 'Gem State'" (Animal Liberation Front), while local media routinely call her an "Anti-Fracking Activist" (e.g. *Boise Weekly, Idaho Statesman, Argus Observer, 580 KIDO).* Yet, Alma does not consider herself an activist. "I don't really, and I haven't really ever thought of myself as an activist per se, you know, there is a need and nobody, I didn't see anybody stepping forward to fill it, so here I am [laughs]" (Alma Hasse).

When the Glasses Shatter

As Alma liked to say, up until she moved to Idaho, her "head had been firmly planted in the sand" and her "rose colored glasses firmly affixed" to her face. When she lived in California, before coming to Idaho, she viewed herself as a conservative, and both her and her husband Jim had all the material things they wanted. Alma had fulfilled many homemaker duties of a middle-class family concerned with presentation. "I used to dust the top of my fridgerator on a weekly basis," Alma would tell me, as she apologized for what she perceived as a state of disarray in her home, each time I arrived for fieldwork. "Now, I hardly even have time to do the dishes, Jim often steps up to do them." In her sweatpants during a day of computer work, before she quickly changed for a meeting and rushed out the door, Alma would say, "it's a good thing I don't put on makeup anymore" (Alma, Fieldnotes 3/2/15). The change from a life of more traditional gender roles and related concerns about presentation of self and home to one of constant resistance to oil and gas—"givin' them hell," as Alma says, paralleled the

change in her view of environmentalists from Birkenstock-sandal-wearing hippies to invaluable members of civil society. In sum, Alma's priorities had changed significantly since 2006 when she realized she had a CAFO (confined animal feeding operation) as a neighbor. From that point on, activist work filled her time.

Her CAFO neighbor "officially smashed" her rose-colored glasses. Alma asked him to stop leaving piles of cattle feed on the road, fallen from his overloaded trucks. In response, he scooped one up and dumped it on the corner of her property. The sample of cattle feed Alma gathered in a neighbor's borrowed canning jar and had tested by Analytical Laboratories of Boise, "had some of the highest levels of ecoli he [the tester] had seen" (Alma, Fieldnotes 3/1/15). "He [the tester] told me to call the school and have them not pick the kids up there because the kids should have no contact with this stuff," Alma explained (Alma, Fieldnotes 3/1/15). Alma went on to work against unjust CAFO policies at the state level, forming a nonprofit and revealing CAFO noncompliance with state and federal laws (Ogburn 2011). This work parallels CAIA's work against oil and gas. Both fight industry-friendly laws that strip away public process and local control over environmentally risky, and, in climate terms, catastrophic, businesses.[94]

Alma's husband Jim experienced a similarly intense event that spurred him to become an activist, though he also does not call himself one. On Thursday October 9, 2014, Alma sat with about six other members of the public—one was fellow fracktivist[95] Tina Fisher—observing a Payette County Planning and Zoning Commission public hearing on oil and gas.

[94] See the documentary *Cowspiracy* (Anderson and Kuhn 2014) and book *The Sustainability Secret* (Anderson and Kuhn 2015) for surprising and troubling information on how the meat and dairy industries contribute hugely to climate change.

[95] Fracktivist is a term for an anti-fracking activist.

Speaking from the front of the fluorescently lit, unadorned, and nearly empty meeting room, a commissioner accused Alma of presenting false information in her testimony at a previous hearing. The present hearing had entered the deliberation stage, when the public is not allowed to speak. Alma demanded a point of order, asking to know the source that contradicted her statement. She had previously stated in public comment that Santa Barbara had an ordinance prohibiting the transportation of gas by railway. The commissioner said he called the city's zoning commission and they denied this. In response to Alma's request for information, the commissioners asked her to leave. She would not—they were in a public meeting, she said—so they asked for her arrest. She calmly and quietly spoke with a reluctant deputy at the back of the room before a man more determined to carry out the arrest arrived, handcuffed her, and escorted her out of the room (the video of the arrest is posted on Facebook). [96] The commissioner, in fact, provided the information Alma had requested after she left the room (Ehrlich 2014).[97]

[96] See the video of her arrest: https://www.facebook.com/video.php?v=965346846825380&set=o.264716450257682&type=2&theater

[97] In Santa Barbara County, where I have attended numerous public hearings, the public often gives testimony that includes incorrect information. The oil and gas regulatory apparatus, especially in Santa Barabara is legalistic in language and difficult to understand. Alma, of any grassroots activist I know, is the best and most practiced at understanding regulations and policy. She constantly refers to statute and prints each bill out so she can read and reread it with highlighter in hand.

In Santa Barbara, I have seen *false* testimony as well. During the Measure P campaign, for example, many speakers said Measure P would shut down oil production (Fieldnotes). This was not part of the initiative; it exempted existing operations (see section 5.C.).[+] Public testimony is a place for the public to voice their concerns, not necessarily an offering of statements to be drafted into policy. I can't imagine commissioners in Santa Barbara discussing the possibility of fact checking each testimony—the conversation among the Payette County commissioners that led to the accusation against Alma. That the commissioners in Idaho were concerned with fact checking public testimony likely speaks, in

Alma spent the next seven days in jail, five of those in solitary confinement without visitors, phone calls, or clean clothes, because she would not give her name, choosing to remain silent (Koch 2015).[98] The jailers claimed they could not process her without a name. She was also jailed before a three-day holiday weekend that inhibited processing. They would not allow her to receive toiletries from her husband, or clean underwear, which have to be approved on Wednesdays—she was arrested on a Thursday (Ehrlich 2014). While in jail, Alma went on a hunger strike. She learned that almost all of the seventeen women in the

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part, to the lack of resources and expertise for making decisions related to oil and gas confronting Idaho policymakers. Until 2009, the state had never had any oil or gas production.

Nonetheless, while there may not be a ban on transportation of gas by rail in Santa Barbara County, there is a resolution (No. 93-480) to transport gas by pipeline and highway, *rather* than rail (Count of Santa Barbara Planning and Zoning). [++] In addition, the cities of Santa Barbara, Goleta, Carpinteria, and Santa Barbara County all opposed the proposed (and eventually denied) expansion of the oil by rail terminal in San Luis Obispo County, which would have increased the transportation of oil by rail in Santa Barbara County. In sum, the gist of Alma's previous testimony, that transportation of gas by rail is unsafe and undesirable, is consistent with Santa Barbara County's policies.

[+] Read the initiative here: http://static1.squarespace.com/static/5302cc76e4b0c37a40042cd6/t/542c5010e4b0eaabbb4a255b/1412190224369/Santa_Barbara_County_Fracking_Ban_Initiative_%28FINAL%29_%281%29.pdf

[++] See the resolution, and an easy to read explanation, on Santa Barbara County's Planning and Development webpage: http://www.sbcountyplanning.org/energy/mitigation/NGLTransportation.asp. The website states, "Pipeline is generally a superior mode compared to rail or highway ... highway is significantly safer compared to rail for shipments destined for Kern County area."

[98] The interim director of ACLU Idaho, Leo Morales, said of Alma's arrest: "This is the type of treatment that is usually reserved for terrorists" (Prentice 2014). As Pellow (2014) describes in *Total Liberation*, animal and earth rights activists are commonly treated as terrorists by the government. This treatment racializes these white activists. Pellow argues that this racialization is a reaction to the affinity of animal and earth rights activists' ideology with the ideologies of movements like the Black Panthers and the American Indian Movement, and also, from these activists' collaborations with and mentorship from people of color.

jail, the "no tell motel" as she likes to call it, were on government assistance. When she discovered that seven of these women with mental health conditions had to pay for their doctors to come into the jail to prescribe their medications, she organized the women to make complaints to the jail. "The next day, they let me out. They probably didn't want me organizing. I'm glad I went to jail since I didn't know anything about it and the mental health situation of the women in there," Alma reflected as she told me about the ordeal over lunch at The Hideaway Grille—the first place she went upon her release from jail four months before (Fieldnotes 2/28/15).[99]

One of the best parts about Alma's arrest, according to a couple of interviewees, was that it sparked Jim's involvement. "I will always remember that day, the day Alma got arrested. I had to handle everything while she was in jail, and it was then that I really realized how crazy it all was. Before, I was aware, but I mostly stayed out of it and did our business," Jim explained (Fieldnotes 3/1/15). Her arrest made it painfully clear that the way things are handled in Payette County is worthy, not only of suspicion, but also a sustained and huge commitment of his time. He began attending and documenting, with professional video equipment, every meeting he could, and then uploading these to YouTube.

[99] Payette County dropped all charges of resisting, obstructing, and criminal trespass, against Alma on April 2, 2015. On April 6, 2015, she filed a civil suit for $1.5 million against Payette County for violation of her First, Fifth, and Eight Amendment rights as well as her right to due process (Koch 2015). See Koch (2015) for a detailed account of the suit and violation of Alma's rights. With the money, Alma hopes to get a Tesla, solar panels, and a sign in her yard that says "F You, Idaho Power!" (Fieldwork).

Figure 11. Alma and Jim document new activities along gas lines. Payette County, March 2015.

He eventually helped form CAIA, where he serves as board member and president. His duties in these roles involve organizing meeting agendas and facilitating meetings. When I asked how he described himself, he replied, "Concerned citizen. I believe that there shouldn't be certain elements of society taking advantage of other people and benefit[ting] from them without [it] being a win-win situation" (Jim Plucinski). Jim's motivation, like other CAIA members, stemmed from a deep sense of right, wrong, and fairness. He, along with Alma, owned a couple of small businesses (restoration and equipment attachment sales) and applied his business sense and ethics to all things oil and gas. As he said, everything should be win-win. In business, you should provide a quality service to someone and receive a fair price for that service. The oil and gas industry did not abide by this ethos.

This sense of wrongdoing was an important motivator for many interviewees. “I see that the community, a lot of them, just don’t know, they are being railroaded and I’m not a protector per se, but I hate to see people ... just getting schemed and railroaded all of the time from the oil company ... and so I’ve been trying to be educated on the system” (Luke Smith).[100] Sherry, the “harmonizer” (Sherry Gordon), “quiet force” (Dottie Hawthorne), and secretary of CAIA, who produces the group’s website and much of their written materials, described a similar realization upon attending her first oil and gas meeting at the Gem County courthouse in Emmett, the town where she lives. A major contention in the fight over oil and gas in Idaho is whether it is about fracking (see chapter three for more information). There are fracking regulations in Idaho policy that the industry participated in developing. In activist lines of reasoning, why would a gas company work to develop policies for a form of extraction it does not intend to practice? In Sherry’s observations, the gas company representatives never say explicitly they will not frack, likely so that if they want to in the future, past quotes will not damage their credibility. However, the company does strive to make fracking seem unlikely. Sherry’s concern is that people trust the industry’s words:

> The lawyers there were so slick and it was clear that they were way bamboozling the people in the audience because they knew the right words to say to make implications, but not to say something outright, like, “we are not going to be fracking.” [Instead, they say] we see no reason why we should have to frack here because X, Y, Z. They didn’t say they’re not going to and everybody says well, “they say they’re not going to frack,” but oh my God! People are kind of horrifying [light laugh] sometimes in their, and it’s not a level of intelligence, it’s just wanting to believe something and taking words and not using their best judgment, not using you know discretion, logic [laughs]. (Sherry Gordon)

[100] Bell (2013) finds that being a protector is something that motivates women and men to fight mountaintop-removal coal mining in central Appalachia.

Her point about the gullibility of Idahoans was something I heard often in this research. Interviewees described Idahoans as particularly trusting, especially of local government. Luke and Brynna felt like the gas company had taken away their ability to trust.[101] Sherry, who moved to Idaho from California, was so concerned about the bamboozling that she agreed to edit an oil and gas ordinance to propose to the county.[102] She did this despite having set out to not get involved with oil and gas because her time was already filled with volunteer work for a number of community organizations, such as being the president of the friends of the local library. The oil and gas ordinance absorbed her time throughout the whole holiday season. When she opened their presentation to the committee, she had never done anything like it before, speaking in front of a packed room to recommend policy. Summing up her primary motivation for being involved, Sherry explained,

> It's got to be done.... I mean I really really really wish somebody else were doing it, but since they aren't, I just feel ... like I am being held to this somehow... I'm doing it out of, oh, you know, a sense of duty I guess, because it really has to be done, somebody's got to be this balance and try to be a force for changing things and I know that those forces all start out small. (Sherry Gordon)

Her feeling of fulfilling a duty resonated with Jim's account. In response to my question of what motivated him, he went further—talking across lines. For Jim, the oil and gas industry was an affront to all things ethical. He feels that ethics do not have a political stripe or label, they are about humanity and doing good:

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[101] In *Our Roots Run Deep as Iron Weed* (2013), one of Shannon Bell's interviewees, Maria Gunnoe, who is an anti-mountaintop-removal activist, describes how the coal companies took away her daughter's ability to feel safe in their home, which a coal company induced mudslide had almost washed away. The company caused psychological trauma. Though not as extreme, ruining people's sense of trust is a similar detrimental effect of oil and gas.

[102] Joe Morton, an outspoken organic grape farmer and critic of the industry, spearheaded the drafting of the ordinance.

> The bottom line is, it's not about how happy you are or ... think you are ..., it's about what kind of impact you can make before you check out, you know, are you, is there going to be a difference? It's not a political thing, it's not a partisan thing, it's the reason why we're here with things, it's a humanity thing. So it doesn't matter if it's left, right, or whatever, a lot of people will coin activists as people that are very liberal, environmental, and it just seems [to] kind of go that way, but it's you know, but I'm extremely conservative and it's more of a, it's a people thing, it's really I can honestly say if anybody is concerned about their fellow man, if they have done anything to help support that, I guess they're an activist, so there you go. (Jim Plucinski)[103]

With that, what does it mean to be a CAIA *activist*?

FROM FIRE TO FIRE: THE ART OF TRIAGE

Everyone in CAIA was a "Jill or Jack of all trades" (Alma Hasse). As Sherry frequently said, most of them were doing triage, attending to whatever was most urgent among a list of urgent tasks. There was a shared sense among members that the situation of the group was suboptimal. They felt they were always running to put out fires, rather than being able to spot the sparks. They were typically forced to be reactive, rather than proactive with their

[103] I conducted a follow up interview with Jim in 2016 to understand what conservatism and liberalism mean to him, to better contextualize his interview excerpts. Jim explains his conservatism through his generally pro-life stance to abortion, his belief in the second amendment, which guarantees "the right of the people to keep and bear arms"—though he wonders why this has become such a political issue since it is in the U.S. Constitution—and his critiques of current U.S. welfare systems. He recognizes the need for social safety nets, but would prefer a more community-driven and local form of welfare. He sees undocumented immigration as unfair to immigrants who have gone through legal channels to become citizens and to U.S. citizens who are inadequately supported and cared for by U.S. social and economic systems. He would like to not "be forced" to share restrooms with transgender people. He believes gay couples should have all the legal rights of heterosexual couples, but not under the institution of marriage. He advocates some other institution or label, "united" for example. Jim's perspectives on all of these issues further illustrate the messiness of political ideology that I discuss later in this chapter. For example, Jim's views on abortion have changed since he was young. He is more against it now, except for in life-threatening situations or rape, than he was when he was younger, because, as a grandfather, he states that he now has a greater appreciation for life in the form of the fetus.

organizing, as when, for example, the Idaho legislature scheduled oil and gas hearings at the last minute, or when the gas company retracted their original application and submitted a new one. Nonetheless, CAIA was able to create many of its own opportunities and performed well, even when industry tried to interfere.

"Lighting a Fire in Eagle"

CAIA's work to activate residents in Eagle, Idaho—to "light a fire" as Shelley Brock says—illustrates the diversity of skills that CAIA members bring to the table. Activism is not monolithic, it might more accurately be called activisms, something CAIA members hint at in their different approaches to and understandings of their work.

Shelley Brock, who along with Alma, is one of the groups' main spokespersons, started the fire in Eagle when she heard that the mayor of her town had coffee with whoever showed up twice a month at Rembrandts, the local coffee house. Shelley decided to show up two days after hearing about it, in August 2015. Jim, William Johnson, and Stealth Officer went with her. The mayor arrived forty-five minutes late and already had a group of people with him. The group entered and sat down together with no empty chairs remaining. Shelley's male companions thought, "well, it looks like a closed meeting" (Shelley Brock). But Shelley was determined.

> I thought screw that, I'm not, it said public meeting, come bring your concerns, I'm going. And so I went and got a chair and pulled it up, I mean I was polite ... and I sat down and apparently they had already, Tom and Paige [who later became CAIA members] had already brought up the fact that it said in [the newspaper] that all this land had been leased in Eagle [Shelley had worked closely with the reporter who wrote the article]. So I brought it up again, only I had ammunition, and I slapped down the maps and there's the map of Tom's house right next to leased ground, so

> they were instantly tuned in, and we passed all the stuff around and it all ended up in a big stack in front of the mayor. (Shelley Brock)

Shelley values the power of maps. She believes in maps' ability to demonstrate to people that the threat is real. Once people have the whole picture, once they know "how crooked the deal is," a sense of anger and fear drives them to action. Shelley herself had been sick with fear when she first found out about the impending gas development. Fear drove her to figure out how to resist the industry and, she thought, was something that continued to fuel the urgency with which she worked on the problem. "I feel like we have to pound this message out to as many cities and counties as we can, as fast as we can, so time doesn't go by ... before they wreck everything" (Shelley Brock).

The meeting with the mayor was a success. He invited Shelley to introduce fracking at the next city council meeting, and, at a later meeting on October 20, to give a ninety-minute presentation on fracking and the situation in Eagle. It was too good to be true. The mayor soon rescinded the ninety-minute offer; CAIA would share its time with Alta Mesa (the gas company), Idaho Department of Lands (industry's pro-industry regulator), and the Idaho Petroleum Association (the industry lobby group).

The presentation,[104] which was the first major public talk Shelley had ever given—"I didn't sleep for a few nights before that ... I was so stressed"—was a success (Shelley Brock). The mayor had asked for a presentation on fracking. Following the instructions, the Vice President of the Idaho Petroleum Council, Paul Powell, showed a video by Marathon

[104] See the presentation on CAIA's YouTube channel: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5SPVqnlC9m4. Though the city of Eagle usually archives videos of meetings, on this particular night the recording equipment malfunctioned (personal communication with City of Eagle staff). CAIA core members would likely interpret this information with suspicion. Instances like these strengthen the value of CAIA's commitment to recording public processes.

Oil[105] detailing the process. A didactic male voice, inflected with a southern U.S. accent, explained "the process consists of pumping a mixture of mostly water and sand, plus a *few* chemicals ... underground" (my emphasis). In front of me, over two thirds of the 150 attendees shook their heads; dubious murmurs filled the room (Fieldnotes 10/20/15). According to a 2015 U.S. Environmental Protection Agency report, there are 692 chemicals used in fracking (U.S. EPA 2015a). In more than seventy percent of the "disclosures" that the EPA analyzed for this report, well operators designated one or more ingredients confidential.[106] Hydrochloric acid, regulated as a hazardous pollutant by the Clean Air Act, appeared in sixty-five percent of the disclosures. Hydrochloric acid is corrosive to the eyes, skin, and mucous membranes (U.S. EPA 2016b). CAIA felt that Powell's presentation played into their hands. It was an instance of industry talking about fracking. CAIA interpreted the presentation as reducing the credibility of industry's claims that they will not frack.

Attendees of the meeting were overwhelmingly on CAIA's side. Many gave public comments outlining problems with the oil and gas industry. Tom Cervino's received hearty chuckles, "I'm looking for accountability. I'm not a scientist, I'm an accountant" (Fieldnotes

[105] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VY34PQUiwOQ (3:37)

[106] Oil and gas and chemical companies are permitted to designate certain chemicals as trade secrets if the chemical or formula gives the company a competitive advantage (see 29 CFR 1910.1200 (Occupational Safety and Health Administration 2012)). Trade secrets are exempt from public disclosure requirements. When a congressional committee asked fourteen leading oil and gas service companies to disclose chemical components of hydraulic fracturing fluids that were listed as "proprietary" or "trade secret" on the companies' Material Safety Data Sheet, most companies stated that they didn't have access to the information about the products they purchased from chemical suppliers (Committee on Energy and Commerce 2011). The congressional report on this investigation concluded, "In these cases, it appears that the companies are injecting fluids containing unknown chemicals about which they may have limited understanding of the potential risks posed to human health and the environment" (Committee on Energy and Commerce 2011:12).

10/20/15). Another speaker, Mike Olsen, pointed out that if industry does not plan to frack, they should give back their leases and move on, a logical point that I heard again, at a house meeting where CAIA gave a presentation in Eagle in December (Fieldnotes 12/10/15). Sympathetic to the public, city council members suggested creating a working group to consider a ban on fracking within the city.[107]

Since this meeting, CAIA's support in Eagle has grown, with new groups of people self-organizing with CAIA's help. Beyond its role as a "lighter," however, the city council meeting brought together the best of all levels of activism from CAIA's members. Stealth Officer, who stays in the background of CAIA for fear of ramifications to his job, sees himself as a supporter contributing technical assistance. For instance, Stealth Officer's connection with a GIS (geographic information system) specialist enabled CAIA's access to a map of oil and gas leases that is much more functional than that available online through the Idaho Department of Land's website. Stealth Officer ensures that the maps in power point presentations are of high resolution and has helped construct large laminated posters for outreach events. Jim, who does speak periodically at events, likewise assists with technical issues of visual and sound projection, as well as recording of events. For the Eagle presentation, Sherry edited both Alma and Shelley's power point presentations. Jan and Wayne, as well as Dottie and Bob Hawthorne, all residents of Emmett (where CAIA meetings take place around Dottie's dining table, stocked with her freshly baked cookies and brewed coffee) drove the half hour to the Eagle meeting to hand out flyers as people came in. Alma, who knows Idaho oil and gas legislation like the back of her hand, presented on its

[107] Idaho House Bill 464 prohibits city bans, but the city could set such high setbacks as to make drilling impossible in city limits.

history, while Shelley, as an impassioned longtime resident of Eagle, talked about fracking and the local gas leases. Alma and I both printed trifold CAIA flyers beforehand, a task she often completes. The diversity of activist work engaged in by CAIA members is what powers events like the Eagle meeting. Nearly every month, CAIA organizes public events like this—complete with two or more outside speakers and thick packets of educational materials.[108] The most important factor in CAIA's momentum, however, is its members' shared vision and dedication to trust, credibility, and care.

"People Don't Care What You Know Until They Know That You Care"

Relational organizing is central to CAIA members' *theory of change*. Both of these terms come, not from CAIA, but from youth activists whom I interviewed in Santa Barbara. Their stories are the subject of the next chapter. Briefly, relational organizing is the idea that the best organizing comes from personal relationships of trust between people and that these relationships are best built on a foundation of care for the person and their life, rather than the purpose s/he serves in a campaign. I explain this concept more in chapter six. A theory of change is a person's view of how change happens. I use these terms to illustrate the progressive nature of CAIA's organizing, in the sense that the group is on the leading edge of inclusive and broad-based organizing—both in relation to political ideology. In the realm of political ideology, CAIA is practicing what the youth in Santa Barbara advocate (see chapter six).

[108] See the standard packet here, in CAIA's public Google Drive folder: https://drive.google.com/open?id=0B0qjWcvIcu4qQUdFX0lCcFlNUFk

That all core CAIA members recognize the importance of relational organizing is evident in their dedication to message. Here, message does not mean a superficial strategy to attract people, though it is strategic. Message means a core value of the group and the foundation of why they work as hard as they do. They are all committed to their mission of "representing and educating the public, challenging unjust government and corporate actions, and participating in public processes to promote the preservation of private property rights, public health, safety, and resources" (CAIA Mission Statement, approved 11/22/15). In addition, the group has committed itself to six core values of respect, responsibility, trustworthiness, caring, fairness, and citizenship (CAIA Core Values, approved 11/22/15). These values apply to the group, membership, and community. They even apply to representatives of the fossil fuel industry, whom activists like Alma always address with decency in public. Gas company representatives do not always reciprocate.[109]

1. **Respect**: Civility, Courtesy, Honor, Decency, Dignity, Autonomy, Tolerance, Acceptance
2. **Responsibility**: Accountability, Integrity, Follow-Through, Pursuit of Excellence, Self-Restraint, Personal Growth, Humility, Service, Constructive Optimism
3. **Trustworthiness**: Honesty, Truthfulness, Sincerity, Candor, Loyalty, Accuracy
4. **Caring**: Appreciation of Others, Self After Others, Love for People/Humanity/Life, Giving Without the Expectation of Return
5. **Fairness**: Inclusiveness, Equity, Impartiality, Nonpartisan, Nondiscriminatory
6. **Citizenship**: Aware and Informed, Engaged, Do More Than Your Fair Share, Work for Community Wellbeing, Active Oversight of Elected Leaders to Ensure Genuine Representation

[109] Alta Mesa Idaho vice president and general counsel John Peiserich once shoved the camera of a reporter sympathetic to documenting CAIA's struggle, and when asked to stop touching the equipment, said "I'll do whatever I want, fuck you" (Koch 2014).

By modeling these values and sharing information one relationship at a time, CAIA hopes to build its power. CAIA members routinely spend hours having coffee with people who express interest in their group, getting to know them, their concerns, and how they would like to be plugged in.

These types of relationships are not only important for growing the movement, but also critical for educating people on the complexities of oil and gas. CAIA core members are very concerned with validity, providing sources for all the statements they make. "The industry can lie ninety percent of the time but we have to be 110 percent accurate" (Shelley Brock). This requires a large investment in getting new members up to speed:

> You have to spend lots of time bringing [new people] along to the point where you're not really gritting your teeth, hoping that they are not going to say something really foolish that's going to hurt the organization ... just because it's so critical to be ... Teflon coated so that nobody can do a grappling hook into you, you know, Teflon coated with truth that's backable, back-upable. (Sherry Gordon)

While important everywhere because of industry's vast resources to amplify its voice above the grassroots, [110] being able to stand behind data is something Idaho interviewees stressed more than other interviewees. They saw data as critical in a context where there is little support for activities perceived as environmental or conservationist.

Justin Hayes, Program Director at the Idaho Conservation League (ICL), Idaho's oldest and largest conservation group, reflected this sentiment when he said, about six times in our conversation, "We have to be very careful. If you go with your *hair on fire* you are marginalizing yourself and all the people and things you stand for. We have to stay credible" (Justin Hayes, my emphasis). In this case, credible meant middle of the road. Both he and

[110] In Santa Barbara, the oil and gas industry ripped Measure P apart for lack of clarity and then spent over six million dollars spreading false information. See chapter eight.

Ben Otto, ICL's Energy Associate, advocated a strategy of having a seat at policy-making tables by proposing what they saw as *realistic* actions—safety regulations and step by step victories, rather than a strategy of saying industry was not welcome in Idaho. Justin went on, illustrating an approach to oil and gas that clashes with the climate justice movement's keep it in the ground campaign (see Keep Fossil Fuels in the Ground: A Declaration for the Health of Mother Earth (2015) published during COP21). He explained:

> Our goal is not to stop this industry, we are not an organization that has said, "Hell no! No oil and gas development in Idaho period, over our dead bodies!" Um, that would just, that's not a position that is going to work in Idaho, so if you want to make yourself completely irrelevant to the policy debate of how to regulate the industry, go light your hair on fire and say this industry is not welcome here. (Justin Hayes)

Probing whether Justin articulated an organizational view or his own, I asked: "Would you personally like to have no oil and gas in Idaho or are you ok with it?" Standing, Justin crossed the room to the light switch. He flicked the lights on and off.

> These [the lights] come from natural gas. I have an array of solar panels on my house, but am I off the grid? No. I rode by bike here, but then I'll drive my daughter to sports practice, in my Prius, but it's still.... So I think we should regulate this to be as safe as possible. It's kind of like with mining [he does mining work for ICL] when people ask me if we need mines, I say yes, for all of the stuff in my awesome cell phone or our cars. If they ask if I'd rather have a mine in Bolivia or the U.S., I say the U.S., because we have way better regulations (Justin Hayes).

Justin's explanation echoes an argument I had heard by one of Santa Barbara's conservative County Commissioners. During a public hearing on Measure P, County Supervisor Lavignino made these remarks to support his no vote on Measure P:

> We basically have a soft ban on fracking [i.e. many regulations] since 2011—I voted for it. So this protects us from fracking. The reality is that I had to park a half-mile away from this place because people [who are at this meeting to protest oil] use cars. I am all for solar and renewables, but it [oil] is not going away in the near future. I think *think globally and act locally* is interesting. The GHGs [greenhouse gas emissions] of not getting it [oil] locally is getting it from Iraq or Venezuela, which means bigger GHGs. (Fieldnotes 6/13/14)

These statements and calls for environmentalists to recognize their own carbon dependencies feed into the fossil fuel industry's ability to "manufacture consent" (Herman and Chomsky [1988] 2002; Lippemann 1922). LeQuesne (2016) calls this "petro-hegemony." The fossil fuel industry uses its control over the state, economy, and culture to make fossil fuels an unquestioned element of life. Alternative bases of energy are, in this context, "hardly imaginable" (Herman and Chomsky [1988] 2002:2). In central Appalachia, Bell (2016) documents how the coal industry enacts petro-hegemony by creating a pro-coal fake grassroots organization called "Friends of Coal" that sponsors local events, services, and places. As she explains:

> Through appearing to sponsor everything and anything, Friends of Coal gives the impression that the coal industry is still acting as the backbone of the state, regardless of whether it provides many jobs or contributes significantly to public services. Thus, these diverse sponsorships serve to perpetuate an ideology of dependency: without the coal industry, West Virginians would not only be without jobs, but they would also be without sporting events, soccer fields, cultural events, and community centers (Bell 2016:104).

These corporate strategies are at work in Idaho and Santa Barbara as well. The website slogan for Idaho Power, the utility provider for southern and eastern Idaho, for instance, is "We are Idaho." The website of Santa Maria Energy, a major oil producer in Santa Barbara County, has a slideshow featuring photos of wine grapes and majestic Santa Maria valley landscapes, making it seem as if the company is somehow synonymous, rather than incompatible with the county's largest economic sectors—tourism and agriculture. Only two of the four photos in the slideshow feature any oil infrastructure. In one of those, the infrastructure is almost completely blocked from view by trees.

Convincing anyone who uses fossil fuels that he or she is dependent on them, that stopping fossil fuels would lead to the ruin of the individual and society, bolsters the hegemonic power of the industry. It prevents imagination of new and different ways of getting energy and organizing society. That this dependency message comes from the program director of Idaho's largest environmental group and from an elected official in Santa Barbara demonstrates the broad buy-in to industry's messaging. It's as if the American Cancer Society said, to a person who smokes daily, that the inconvenience of quitting and adjusting one's daily routine outweighs the known health effects, and that the smoker should buy local tobacco (see Oreskes and Conway (2010) on the parallels between the tobacco and fossil fuel industries). This fossil-fuel dependency justification for inaction is something grassroots groups like CAIA work hard to reverse.

Unlike the nonprofit staffers I just mentioned, CAIA thinks the facts about the damage of gas extraction give them the credibility to advocate, if not ban on the industry, a reversal of all the laws that make gas extraction a viable business in Idaho. The facts CAIA shares with communities and their concern with progress on the issue, rather than receiving credit—a concern that produces tension among nonprofits in Idaho, something I discuss into in chapter seven—endears them to their supporters. Care, as Jim's quote in this section's title communicates, is key: "people don't care what you know until they know that you care." Peter and Susan Dill, organic farmers in Gem County, stressed how impressed they were that Alma had been responsible for connecting their county (where Alma does not live) to Michael Lewis, then director of the United States Geological Survey's (USGS) Idaho Water Science Center. They did not know Alma had been involved and had wondered how Lewis connected with Gem County. With guidance from Lewis, the USGS partnered with Gem

County to conduct county-wide base-line water testing *before* industry drilling. CAIA members believe this is the first such collaboration in the United States. Having baseline data is the only way communities can prove contamination from oil and gas drilling; in most cases, communities do not have this data. The Dills, both soft spoken and intentional with their words, spoke highly of Alma and Michael. Michael "was very supportive, I mean he really *cares*" (Susan Dill, my emphasis).

William Johnson stressed the importance of care as well. He had experienced terrible backlash from fighting the nuclear industry before he joined CAIA. Nonetheless, reflecting on his entry into activism—a reflection that would apply to his experience in CAIA as well—he said:

> It's probably the best experience I ever had because I met some of the best people in the world that understand this, they care, they do care. They don't do things for money, they do things because they are right, where they don't do them because they're wrong, and that's what, in my opinion, we have to appeal to (William Johnson).

Care is a core CAIA practice. Bill McKibben (2012) has said society needs to keep eighty percent of fossil fuels in the ground to avoid catastrophic climate change. Care in the context of oil and gas means shutting the industry down. Though Idaho Conservation League's website is full of language about working on the issues Idahoans care[111] about—"Because you love Idaho, the Idaho Conservation League protects the air you breathe, the water you drink and the land you love" (Idaho Conservation League 2015)—their moderate approach to oil and gas regulations fails, when considering climate change, to care enough. In trying to walk the middle line on this issue, to appear "credible" to Idaho politicians (many

[111] For example, search care in the search box of ICL's webpage: www.idahoconservation.org. Then search (control + f) care in the page that comes up.

of whom do not believe in climate change)[112] they alienate CAIA and fail to demand the conservation measures that climate change requires.[113]

Though taking a moderate approach may appear to be an attempt to talk across lines, it is an attempt to talk across, but not disrupt, *lines of power* in a political economy that is fundamentally unjust. Both Ben Otto and Justin Hayes were reticent to think about building coalitions with CAIA, whom the former saw as representing conservative voices that had been against most of ICL's policies in the past, and whom the latter saw as people with their hair on fire. Both had had little sustained personal contact with CAIA members, no relationship of trust. Ben Otto recognized the importance of trust. When I asked him if there was a way ICL could collaborate with CAIA on oil and gas, he said:

> We are definitely trying to.... It's new for us, we have traditionally just been very threatened by the tea party and private property rights scene and they have felt very threatened by us, so it's new for both of us, both groups, to try to find this comfort and trust. It takes a lot of trust-building when you've traditionally, you know, lobbed competing press releases at each other and you've called each other terrible names in meetings, there's a lot of repair that needs to happen and trust is earned, especially in Idaho. I mean people are pretty insular to their community, so it is just going to take time to build that trust and you earn it by demonstrating consistency and respect for different people and listening to folks, but I think it's getting better, but yeah, it will take time. (Ben Otto)

Both Justin and Ben recognized, in their own ways, where CAIA was coming from. Hayes noted how it was understandable that people radicalized. He had seen activists start off

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[112] Representative Dell Raybould, a Rexburg, ID Republican, chair of the House Resources and Conservation Committee, and the Legislature's expert on water issues, told a reporter for the *Post Register*, "Listen to Rush Limbaugh once in a while. See what he thinks about it [climate change]. He'll tell you that this is just a bunch of nonsense" (Clark 2016).

[113] The Idaho Conservation League does much good work. In a state with few environmental organizations, I am thankful for ICL. My critique here is limited to their stance on natural gas regulations. In 2017, I was happy to see them bring attention to the issue with a post titled "Is Fracking in Idaho's Future?" (Hopkins 2017).

concerned and "reasonable," but then, when no one listens, he explained, people have no incentive to be moderate (Justin Hayes). Ben, who was perhaps not yet so jaded to dismiss what he called "the left flank" and who personally preferred that oil and gas did not happen, thought it was important for people to make more radical demands than he could in the context of his more insider position with ICL. Radical demands like, "let's close every coal plant this year" moved the window of possible conversations to the left (Ben Otto). Ben and Justin felt they were doing what they could within their roles as ICL staff—lobbying for more stringent policy and building "strong relationships with state agencies" (Ben Otto). During my research, their practice of doing the "art of the possible" (Ben Otto) did not line up with CAIA's goals.

CAIA, particularly Alma, perceives lack of support from the big green groups in Boise,[114] and so, most of CAIA's relational organizing is focused on building the grassroots. Of CAIA interviewees, Jim thinks about relational organizing the most. He is a keen observer of body language to gauge a person's feelings. As he explains, activists should be focused on others' needs and be aware of how different issues concern different people. In the following

[114] During my research, the three big green groups (i.e., with paid staff) in Boise—Sierra Club Idaho, Idaho Conservation League, and the Snake River Alliance (Idaho's nuclear watchdog group)—were all trying to figure out where they fit into the oil and gas debate in Idaho and how they could assist CAIA. Snake River Alliance had sent CAIA materials to their mailing list. Zack Waterman, Idaho Chapter Director for the Sierra Club, was positive about working with CAIA in the future; Casey Mattoon, Conservation Coordinator for Sierra Club, had recently taken one of Alma's toxic tours—tours used by community groups to increase public awareness of environmental injustices—of oil and gas infrastructure in Payette County (Fieldnotes 12/15). These three groups also, because of their situation of vying for the same donors in a context of limited support for environmentalism in Idaho, were continuously working on their relationships with each other. One example of their efforts to work together was the Rally for Climate Action on October 23 and 24, 2015. See chapter seven for more on tensions between grassroots and staffed nonprofit organizations.

excerpt (and Figure 12), he powerfully captures the idea of talking across lines—the core of CAIA's organizing:

> You've got to figure out a way to establish that you care and to do that, you have to first analyze who your subject is going to be and understand where they're coming from and learn how to speak to them. Instead of telling them everything that *you* think they should know, you need to tell them things that they would be interested in knowing, otherwise you lose them right then and there. So one good barometer, if you can imagine taking a piece of paper and folding it in half, [there's] the left side and the right side and the line in the middle is the center, list all the things that different political affiliations would land on. So obviously on the left, you would have abortion, and abortion on the right too, you would have maybe guns on the right and you know, list everything, and then try to find things down the center that people, that both people, both mindsets, would see a common interest [in]. You know one thing would be if somebody owned property, would it be okay if somebody actually took your surface of your property and did what they want to do with it? And you know, see what goes down the center and then that's what you talk about. If you're in an area that is more to the left, then you can put that line over to the left, or more to the right, but you have to kind of look at first an overall view of what you want to do and you try to stop talking about the fringe stuff because that's what they [the oil and gas industry] want us to do.

He continues:

> Then you look at different types, groups of people in the area, like our area is a very strong farming community, what is important to the farmers? Well, water is very important, make sure they got plenty of water for their crops, because I don't think there's a farmer around that would say "oh no, I don't care if water gets cut off midseason." I mean that's their source of life—they don't bring that product to market, they don't get paid. They got a lot of money up front, they may have even taken loans to be able to put the product in the ground ... so you have to look and see what's important to them and then actually write a list, so you can keep that top of mind, so water would be important to farmers, condition of roads are important, they can't get their product out if the roads are not good for large trucks.

Jim, who is particularly gifted at clarifying things through analogy and story,[115] underlines common values as key to organizing. While there is some flexibility in communicating values depending on context—what Santa Barbara youth activists call "meeting people

[115] See his extended analogy between a dog walking business and the oil and gas industry in the Introduction.

where they're at" (see chapter six)—the core values that drive CAIA's work are always the same, rooted in care, fairness, and quality of life. The goal of protecting these values leads clearly to some common enemies, in this case, the oil and gas industry and the state. By standing on the core values at the center of Jim's imaginary page (see my depiction of Jim's ideas below), CAIA can talk and work across lines of difference that typically prevent collaboration. Rootedness in right and wrong, exposing the roots of injustice, and agreeing to disagree facilitate talking across lines.

THE PRACTICE OF TALKING ACROSS LINES

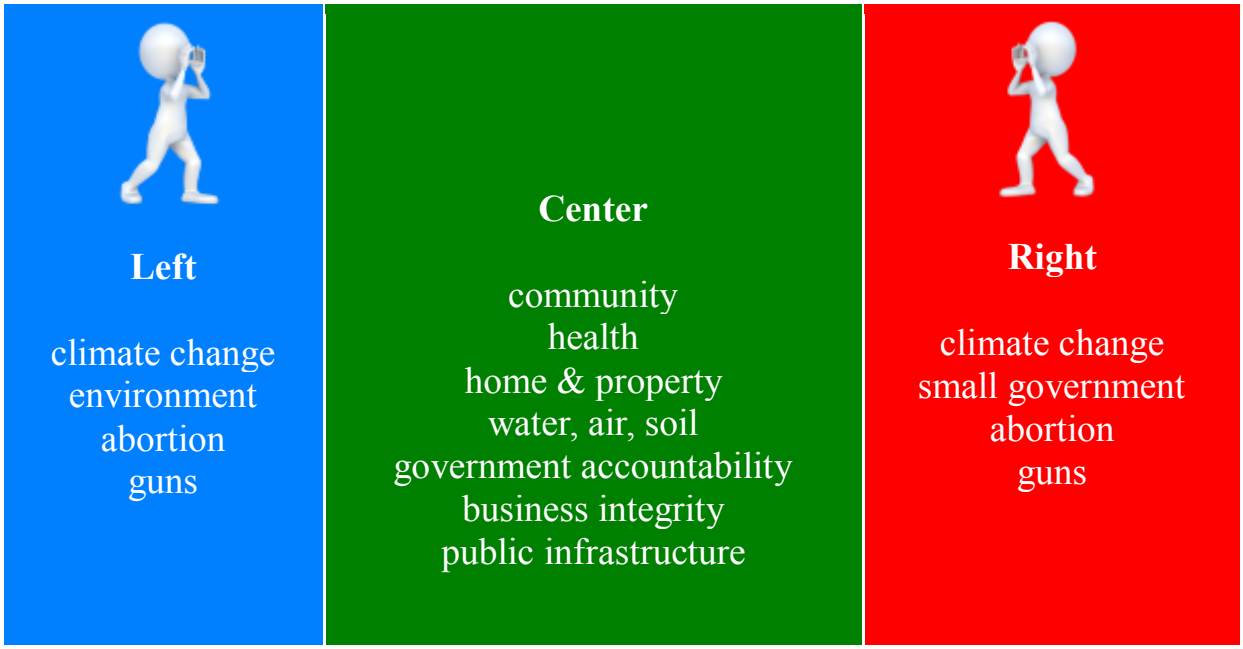

Figure 12. Talking Across Lines.

Messaging Property Rights and Public Health

As Jim hinted above, the language used to describe core values is important. CAIA had consensus that property was the most effective way to communicate core values across a broad base of Idahoans.[116] Idaho has a high home ownership rate, sixty-nine percent versus sixty-four percent nationwide (U.S. Census Bureau 2014). In all but one of the towns where CAIA is organizing, homeownership is even higher—seventy, seventy-four and eighty percent (see Table 7 on page 129). Agreement on this message, however, did not characterize resistance to oil and gas from the beginning. Alma and Tina Fisher, who were the first to start publicly resisting oil and gas in Idaho in 2010, originally used an environmentalist message. They formed a group called IRAGE, Idaho Residents Against Gas Extraction. They did not have much success garnering local support, but did connect with fractivists in other parts of the country. With sponsorships, both went to Washington D.C. in 2012 and Dallas in 2013 for the annual Stop the Frack Attack rally.

The connections they made at these events continue to be powerful. Calvin Tillman, former mayor of Dish, Texas who eventually moved his family from Dish after his children kept experiencing nosebleeds,[117] a speaker at the event in D.C., has traveled to Idaho on numerous occasions to speak at CAIA's public forums. On March 7, 2016, Idaho Public

[116] In some ways, this parallels the environmental justice movement's efforts to redefine what environment is. Rather than nature or the outside world, as the conservation and mainstream environmental movement had long understood the term, environmental justice activists redefined environment to mean where people live, work, and play, bringing in concerns about people's health and livelihoods.

[117] Dish, a town with 150 people, has ten large natural gas lines that meet in the city. These lines carry ten *billion* cubic feet of gas per day. As mayor, Tillman commissioned an air study, which found "amazing and very high levels of known and suspected human carcinogens and neurotoxins" (Fox 2010). See a clip of Tillman in the film *Gasland*: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KIIpN2-_zlY.

Television live-streamed his CAIA-sponsored presentation in Idaho's statehouse. Tillman is featured in Josh Fox's films *Gasland* and *Gasland II* and has started his own organization, ShaleTest (shaletest.org), to perform environmental testing for low-income families in oil and gas areas.

While the knowledge and connections Alma and Tina cultivated before 2014 are paying off now, locally, Alma thinks, "I would've been more effective probably just beating my head against the wall quite frankly." Their environmental message—even when communicated in non-buzz word language, like "aren't you pissed off about the potential impacts to our aquifer"—created a "vise grip" on people's heads. In Alma's view,

> You got to get the screws unloosened on the vise grip and get [it] off people's heads ... before they can listen, because the reality is, once they understand the corporate dominance behind what's happening and how we got from point A to point Z, they'll get all kinds of pissed off and you'll have somebody who becomes an activist pretty quickly, who would ordinarily not. But if you start [with], "Aren't you pissed off about the potential impacts to you know, our aquifer?" you know, there's a good chance you might be labeled you know one of those *damn environmentalists*. But if you start that same conversation saying, "Geez George, you know that they're going to be able to force you into doing this [lease to the gas company] and if they force you into doing this and something happens to your well water, what are you going to do? You know, then your property's worth nothin." You know that gets them thinking and it, and once you get people thinking, you know, if, once the barrier is up, there is no conversation, so you've got to, you have to figure out a way to get a message across without enacting those barriers, and I think we've [CAIA] been pretty good about doing that.

Thus, after suggestions from Jim and Joe Morton (who are both more conservative than Alma) to change the way she communicated, Alma began to focus on how gas threatened property rights.

A core piece of the property rights message is the effect an oil and gas lease can have on a mortgage. Alma, who worked in the mortgage industry for fourteen years, has a letter from her mortgage lender stating she would be in technical default of her mortgage if she

signed an oil and gas lease. From the mortgage lender, or insurance company's perspective, an oil and gas lease can damage the property; some lenders will only make a loan to people who agree not to lease (Urbina 2011). Residents of Oklahoma, a state that has now experienced more earthquakes than anywhere else in the world because of fracking waste water injection wells (Chow 2015), have been struggling to find insurance coverage for their *frackquake* damaged homes (Summars 2015). Soon after Alma switched her environmental message to property rights, support grew.

An additional strength to this message is that despite the distaste for environmental messaging that conservatives like Jan and Wayne, former leaders of the tea party group in their county, express, environment is embedded in notions of property. Property gets people thinking about their land, air, and water, in other words, the environment.

> Corrie: What do you think is the strongest message to get people on your side around here?
>
> Jan and Wayne: Property rights.
>
> Wayne: You have one shot to get it right, you mess up and they are going to ruin your aquifer, one spill on the soil is going to destroy that soil, you cannot regenerate it, once you've had that spill ... that soil's gone, you don't have a second chance.

Here, Wayne, who is adamant about the need to be nonpartisan in all things oil and gas, which includes avoiding the word "environmental" because it is too associated with liberals, moves seamlessly in our conversation from underlining the importance of the property message to talking about protecting water and soil. Furthermore, the property message can extend to public property, the commons, as well. Their mission statement makes this extension: "private property rights, public health, safety, and resources." Public resources implicitly include air, water, and land.

The most important part about the property message is that it opens the door to conversations among people with different perspectives, yet who can identify with the importance of protecting their homes and/or property. The property message permits a conversation to develop without barriers popping up or vise grips on heads tightening in response to topics that are polarizing in the local context, topics such as environmentalism and climate change. In sparking dialogue, the message of property rights lets relational organizing and relationship building begin by allowing people with divergent opinions to get to know each other as they work against a common enemy and discover their shared values—quality of life and accountability from government and industry. By fostering trust, the relationships built around shared values make the group more effective in their work. Eventually, trust also allows people to have hard conversations about their disagreements, and potentially, change their opinions.

There are of course downsides to the property message. Most importantly, there is a risk that someone will be concerned *only* about their property, never moving past the NIMBY (not in my back yard) or NUMBY (not under my backyard) [118] stage. However, among interviewees, it was more common to progress out of NIMBYism toward a recognition and concern with the broader impacts (our back yards) of natural gas, or to express concerns that blur and complicate NIMBYism. "Initially, I would have been like just put it [the gas well] somewhere else, don't put it here, I don't want to deal with it, but now I think, 'oh my gosh,' you know, they put it somewhere else and then some other family's in the same position that we are in" (Brynna Smith). I discuss these complexities in depth in the

[118] Stacia Sydoriak added not *under* my back yard (NUMBY) (personal communication with Peter Hall).

following section. Suffice to say that personal experience, damage, or threats are strong motivators and motivation is the first step in long-term organizing.

Sarah Pierce, for example, became a CAIA member after landmen trying to get her to sign an oil and gas lease visited her home three times. The third time, three men came, barring her from closing the door when she repeated her refusal to sign the lease. Sarah, alone with her children, "felt very intimidated by them" (Sarah Pierce). They told her she'd be an idiot not to sign but she refused and successfully demanded they leave. Joli, who owns a dog training facility with her husband, got involved when Payette County approved Alta Mesa to build an ancillary processing facility and rail spur on the lot adjacent to their property. There would be a flare stack 600 feet away from her home and dog kennels and a constant hum. Both would make her business impossible because of the effect on the dogs her husband trains, who would have constant exposure to the chemicals and noise. As Joli explains, Planning and Zoning, who had approved an expansion of Joli's business (a large investment for her and her husband) just about a year before the Alta Mesa project was proposed, "with their eyes wide open, sold us down the river" (Joli). "Everybody in the entire neighborhood that had anything to say about the plant said no, and they passed it anyway" (Joli).[119]

Examples like these and the Smith's story mentioned above illustrate industry behaviors that interviewees interpret as unfair and unjust. These stories are powerful in a context where drilling has yet to produce any catastrophes that would make the environmental threats seem real. With only eighteen wells permitted so far, fifteen of which

[119] Joli and her husband appealed the decision, moving the case to district court.

are drilled and nine of which are producing,[120] it is not surprising that there have not been any publicized accidents or violations. Thus, at this phase in natural gas development, people's stories of experienced threats to their families, homes, and way of life are more powerful organizing tools than statistics on environmental impacts. What the state of Idaho and industry can do to an individual's property, without their consent, makes real the threat of natural gas for anyone who owns a home or knows someone with a home near oil and gas leases. The message sinks in rapidly, avoiding much of the difficulty that arises when trying to communicate the process of fracking[121] and its effects. The topic of property rights, when combined with all of Idaho's oil and gas policies, powerfully illustrates industry and the state's disregard for CAIA's sense of right and wrong. Shared understanding of the injustice at the root of oil and gas, an injustice that extends beyond this industry to others (e.g. industrial agriculture), strengthens relationships among CAIA members. In Bhadra's (2013) terms, "disaster scripting" about oil and gas reworks social divisions "into a common identity of shared imagination of disaster." Injustice was manifested not only in CAIA member's interactions with the gas company, but also in state policies that favored industry over community, which I now discuss.

[120] As of May 25, 2017, Idaho Department of Lands: https://www.idl.idaho.gov/oil-gas/regulatory/well-permits/index.html

[121] Alma for example, sometimes refers to industry's definition of fracking: "high-volume, slick-water, horizontally drilled hydraulic fracturing"—quite a mouthful (Fieldnotes, CAIA Meeting, 10/28/15).

"Everything was Handed to Them on a Silver Platter"

Joli's case is a microcosm of how government collaborates with industry to approve plans that disrupt people's lives. There is agreement, as Wayne says, that the oil and gas industry has things "handed to them on a silver platter" (Wayne). As Peter Dill highlighted, industry is not a good neighbor. Along with other interviewees, Peter had seen the gas company's representatives speak at meetings. He was not impressed:

> They've got this guy [talking about Michael Christensen, the lawyer who represents Alta Mesa at Gem County meetings] who comes to the meetings and says, "well you know we should be treated like all the other neighbors, how come we're not?" And he seems to really wonder that and everybody else says, "well, there's a reasonable reason, you're not a neighbor, you're representing a corporation, which by the way, we gather is on its last legs financially and trying to bail itself out, but there will be more behind you, you're not our neighbor. When we ... realize that you are going to come and go after kind of leaving a lot of damage behind, we're not exactly friendly." I think people get stirred up by that, by someone doing damage and not paying for it and leaving the bill with us. (Peter Dill)[122]

At the state level, Idaho has a practice of adopting policy put forward by the oil and gas industry and other industry-friendly states. For example, in 2011, Idaho adopted rules based on oil and gas procedures in Wyoming; a few months later, a report by the U.S. House Energy and Commerce Committee revealed oil and gas companies operating in Wyoming had injected thousands of gallons of carcinogen-laced water into wells from 2005 to 2009 (Prentice 2011a). As a representative of the State of Idaho told Luke Smith when Luke inquired about setbacks:[123] "Well in Texas they can put it right next to your house, they don't

[122] With reference to Peter's comment that the corporation "is on its last legs financially": Moody's Investors Services, a credit rating firm, downgraded Alta Mesa's financial status in 2014 from "stable" to "negative" (Smith 2014).

[123] As of August 2015, Idaho had no setbacks requirements for schools, playgrounds, parks, hospitals, or residential areas (IDL 2015). "Spacing of wells must achieve the goals stated in Idaho Code § 47-315, one of which is to maximize the recovery of oil and gas" (IDL

mind." Luke said, "Really?" and the man said, "Yeah, if it's good enough for Texas it should be good enough for here." "I'm like 'What?! [laughs] and all the earthquakes in Texas don't alarm you at all'?" (Luke Smith). There are countless instances like these that CAIA works hard to bring to the public's attention.

The two recently passed bills that CAIA frequently highlights are House Bill 50 and 464. House Bill 464, passed in 2012, strips local control over oil and gas, forbidding local governments from enacting local bans. Cities and counties cannot require oil and gas exploration companies to secure conditional use permits for their projects (AP 2012). Joli had to get a conditional use permit for her dog training business! One of this bill's supporters in the legislature, Monty Pierce, leased his land to Snake River Oil and Gas, the company behind the bill. He waited for the final vote to disclose his leases and then, when Democrats filed a conflict of interest complaint, the Senate Ethics Committee dismissed the complaint (AP 2012). The irony of this bill, completely incongruous with Idaho's reputation for hands-off government and local control, is thick. By educating the public on the bill, CAIA illustrates the hypocrisy of Idaho representatives and also puts Idaho's plight in the context of the larger anti-fracking movement in the United States, where states across the country have stripped local governments of control over the oil and gas industry (Healy 2015). As in the rest of the United States, the oil and gas industry also backs politicians and regulators (Turnbull 2016). Bridge Resources, the sole natural gas developer in Idaho until it went bankrupt in 2011, contributed money to each of the five members of the governor-appointed

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2015:11). This essentially requires maximizing profits and promoting capitalism. In 2016, the minimum setback was set at 300 feet (Barker 2016).

Idaho Oil and Gas Conservation Commission,[124] with a $5,000 contribution to Governor Otter (Prentice 2011b). Cases like these bolster CAIA's message of government corruption.

House Bill 50, passed in 2015, details the process by which industry can ask the state to *force pool*—"integrate," in industry terms—mineral rights owners in sections of land. A section of land is 640 acres. Under House Bill 50, once the gas company gets owners of fifty-five percent of mineral rights in a section to agree to lease, the owners of the other forty-five percent can be forced into leasing. This gives immense power to large landowners, many of whom wield great political power. For example, Brad Little, Idaho's Lieutenant Governor, is a mineral rights owner in and around areas that have been leased for oil and gas development near Boise (Malloy 2015). According to the 2015 Land Report, published by *The Land Report* magazine, the Simplot family, who pioneered frozen french fries[125] in Idaho and supplies McDonalds, is the eighteenth largest landholder in the United States. Butch Otter, also a large land owner and Idaho's governor, is the former son-in-law of J.R. Simplot (Yardley 2010). The Simplot political action committee has overwhelmingly supported Republicans over the years, including Idaho's congress members, Mike Simpson, Raul Labrador, and Mike Crapo (Center for Responsive Politics). All three politicians support America's energy independence, "accomplished through a combination of renewable energy,

[124] Passed in 2013, Senate Bill 1049 changes regulatory power over oil and gas from the *elected* State Board of Land Commissioners to the *appointed* Idaho Oil and Gas Conservation Commission.

[125] The USDA approved GMO potatoes, created by Simplot, in 2014. While Monsanto's GMO potatoes that were introduced in the 1990s failed to spread throughout the market, Simplot, with its power in the potatoes business, may prove more successful (Pollack 2014). CAIA members like Jim, Stealth Officer, and Alma see agribusiness, and Monsanto in particular, on par with the oil and gas industry in terms of violations of principles of integrity and accountability. They've built CAIA's organizational foundation to work for integrity and accountability in any context and hope oil and gas becomes one of *many* campaigns.

nuclear energy, clean coal,[126] and both onshore and offshore oil and gas" (Simpson 2010).[127] In 2015, Simplot paid $899,000 in a civil penalty to settle a number of Clean Air Act violations and agreed to spend $42 million on improved emissions controls and monitoring (U.S. EPA 2015b).[128] Large landowners in Idaho like Simplot, Otter, and Little, who stand to gain the most from oil and gas development, are also intimately tied to the political and economic power of the state. They are generally pro-industry and against environmental regulation. Reflecting on this collusion of the political and economic "power elite" (Mills 1956), William Johnson summarized interviewees' sentiments:

> This is an upside down state, I know there are others that are upside down, but I don't think they get any worse than this. There's just enough sophistication that they

[126] See Fred Pearce's article in *The Guardian* (2009) for why clean coal is both a form of green-washing, making things seem environmentally friendly when they are not, and also a climate change oxymoron.

[127] The web thickens. Just before he left the governorship to be President Bush's Secretary of the Interior in 2006, then Idaho Governor Dirk Kempthorne facilitated J.R. Simplot's donation of his mansion to the state of Idaho, to be used as the Governor's mansion (Yardley 2010). Supported by the timber industry and Simplot in his position as Secretary of the Interior, Kempthorne supported a number of environmentally damaging policies. The Bush Administration Kempthorne served is infamous for making the fracking boom possible through such policies as the Halliburton loophole, passed in 2005, which exempts oil and gas from environmental regulations like the Safe Drinking Water Act.

[128] Simplot was responsible for the "Famous Potatoes" slogan on Idaho license plates. I am fond of where I grew up; I've always liked my license plates. I have a few cute potato magnets on my fridge. My favorite says "Howdy from Idaho!" I've given these magnetized potatoes as gifts to friends in Santa Barbara. When I was young, I enjoyed attending the Simplot track and field games with my father, an annual tradition of his. As I read about how big business has shaped Idaho's identity, I feel betrayed. As is clear from the Idaho Statesman's (Idaho's main newspaper) article on J.R. Simplot's legacy, Simplot permeates the state. Through philanthropy, Simplot engrained a respect and thankfulness toward his name. As Woodward (2008) writes, "Nowhere is his influence more dominant than in Idaho, where he funded scores of business, educational and charitable enterprises. He donated millions to the state's colleges and universities and funded causes from Boise's Basque Museum to the Pocatello Public Library." As I learn about Simplot, I am keenly aware of the connection between biography and history, between the micro and macro, a connection C Wright Mills (1959) identified as the core of sociological analysis.

> understand how the game is played and just enough red-neckery that there aren't any rules you know. So, I try not to think about it much [chuckles].
>
> Corrie: Are you from Idaho?
>
> William: Born and raised in Idaho, and I used to be proud of it, not anymore (William Johnson).

Idaho's lax oil and gas policies and their entanglement with the interests of elites add fuel to CAIA's fire. CAIA marshals examples like these to advance its central message: the state's support of oil and gas is an egregious misappropriation of state resources that should be directed to representing and pursuing policy in the best interest of the people. As the header of their website reads "Citizens Allied for Integrity and Accountability THE PEOPLE INSIST" (CAIA 2016). Though exposing injustice in the three Ps of property, profits, and politics brings CAIA members together, it does not wash away all differences. "The People" are not monolithic. Talking across lines also requires acknowledgement of differences of perspective. As the most challenging part of the practice of talking across lines, acknowledging difference can determine collaborations.

"Check Your Party Affiliation at the Door": Addressing Difference in CAIA

CAIA approaches difference in two ways: by checking it at the door and agreeing to disagree. On one hand, these practices ignore difference. On the other hand, by being so explicit about how to maneuver around and work through difference, they embrace it. Before I describe these practices, a word on defining difference. Here, difference refers to difference of perspective or belief—political difference. Since CAIA is a relatively homogenous group, though its membership does reflect class diversity, CAIA's practices around different

perspectives may not extend to other forms of difference, like race and sexuality. One core CAIA member identifies as a Native American, but not as a person of color. This person is the only core member without primarily white/European heritage. At CAIA events, I've hardly ever seen someone I perceived as a person of color. In a state where ninety-four percent of the population identities as solely white (U.S. Census Bureau 2014), this is not uncommon. In New Plymouth, where the first natural gas wells were drilled, the population is ninety-six percent white (U.S. Census Bureau 2014). All CAIA core members are in heterosexual marriages. To her credit, Alma is an outspoken supporter of gay rights, a prominent civil rights issue in Idaho because of the state's continued support for legal discrimination against LGBTQ individuals, and she has built relationships with Duck Valley tribal members. On the other hand, some group members' views align with conservative views on abortion, gay marriage, and immigration, and, though not evident in personal interactions, the fact that some of these perspectives are public on Facebook likely would prevent people of color from wanting to participate in the group.[129] While recognizing the serious problems that individual public displays of anti-immigrant sentiment, as one

[129] My own politics contrast sharply with those of some group members. Despite the oppression that some group member's views exude, my interactions with these same members demonstrated, over and over again, that they are well meaning individuals interested in the welfare of people and communities. In line with the thesis of this dissertation, that relationships of trust are necessary for building broad-based social movements, I see intolerant views stemming from an absence of relationships of trust with different people. Building trust between people supporting policies detrimental to marginalized communities and members of those marginalized communities is obviously difficult and an issue of safety. I contend, nonetheless, that with a commonly shared value and an effort to build a relationship working around that value, people with disparate experiences and beliefs can begin to share conversations, learn, and ultimately, persuade and change each other's ideas in the interest of justice. Justice is itself a core value whose basic definition I and interviewees likely understand in the same way, but that fact is often obscured by media and corporate efforts to instill different understandings of policies through which political parties try to put justice into practice.

example, pose for inclusive organizing, CAIA's *group* strategy and mission *is* beneficial for creating *political* inclusivity and holds potential for fostering broader inclusivity. Thus, while my argument in this chapter addresses possibilities of talking and working across *political lines*, I see evidence from my other research sites that CAIA's practices can facilitate collaboration across other lines as well.[130]

Checking partisanship and views about climate change at the door is a cornerstone of CAIA's approach to organizing. As Wayne's quote in this section's title communicates—"check your party affiliation at the door"—, core members choose to meet around Dottie's table as people working on a common goal. They eschew political labels, recognizing their use as a dividing tactic by the oil and gas industry. Though they hold various views that are usually understood as belonging to one party (e.g. pro-choice, pro-life, suspicion of taxation and welfare, support for gay marriage) they all agree that "neither party is worth a hoot" (Dottie Hawthorne). Many have been registered Democrats and Republicans at different points in their lives. Now, most core members think of themselves as Independents, Conservatives, or Liberals and in some cases, try to avoid all such labels for their beliefs.

While they try to explicitly check their political views at the door, they are aware of each other's views. With their awareness, they choose to "agree to disagree." Dottie, who now considers herself an Independent rather than Republican, explained the process:

> You just have to allow everyone to have their own opinion and don't degrade them for it because they have their reasons for believing how they believe and yeah, oh, my political differences are way out the window, I mean really really different, and that's, and I have to marvel because I just love them all [CAIA core members], but some of them who are oh, very very intelligent, have the weirdest ideas about things. I think

[130] See chapter eight for discussion of successful and failed attempts to work across lines of racial and ethnic identities. Chapter six examines youth activist organizations that have high levels of racial and ethnic diversity.

> "what, as smart as you are, you actually believe that?" you know, but that's just me.... I hope that one of these days that they will say, "hmm, maybe I wasn't right about that, maybe I should rethink this," [chuckles] and maybe they think the same thing about me. I don't know, but I try not to say either way. I just keep my opinions to myself about, especially political, because, that is ingrained in most people from youth, actually, and being a rancher, you know I am Republican (Dottie Hawthorne).

That Dottie calls herself a Republican at the end of the quote, affiliating herself with what the party used to be despite her current aversion to the label, illustrates the complexity of Dottie's relationship with political labels. For her, and Jan and Wayne, Republican is no longer a good descriptor of their beliefs because they see the party as a RINO, Republican in Name Only—insufficiently conservative. Wayne, for example, values small government. He sees local Republican politicians' support for oil and gas development, and for the erosion of private property rights which that development entails, as government overreach.

While core members had decided to keep their differing views to themselves, they did not always make this practice clear to new members. I had not seen a CAIA member explicitly explain the importance of non-partisanship to newcomers at CAIA events or meetings. I learned how important non-partisanship is to CAIA's identity mostly through my sustained one-on-one interactions with Alma. When Tom Cervino and Paige started coming to CAIA meetings during my fieldwork, Dottie unofficially took on the task of maintaining the group's nonpartisanship by making reminders during meetings. At a CAIA meeting on October 14, 2015, Tom mentioned that he knew a couple of people active in the Republican Party who were against fracking. He wondered, however, if they would stand up or not. Would they support CAIA and make their opposition public (Fieldnotes)? Tom's comment implied that Republicans would be less likely than Democrats to stand up against fracking. In reply, Dottie said, "I don't think it is a Democrat or Republican issue" (Fieldnotes). To her, it

was important for the group to talk about politicians and parties as a whole, recognizing that both major parties have poor oil and gas policies. While it was rare for CAIA core members to talk explicitly about their disagreements, conversations were possible. The most powerful example of such a conversation is my interview with Alma and Jim.

Alma believes in climate change; her husband Jim is a climate skeptic, so they practice talking across lines in their relationship as spouses. Though they did not talk about it much, they did discuss it in our interview.

> Corrie: Can you tell me about your perspectives on climate change and how it is to have your spouse have a different view?
>
> Alma: [laughs] Oh, now you are lighting a torch! I love it.
>
> Jim: Um, that's one of those things that I think in CAIA we agreed not to discuss because especially here in Idaho, you can really alienate people, and that's getting that piece of paper out and putting things down on the right side, and the left side, and the center and trying to get as much stuff to the center and making that your topic. Um, again unless you're working in different areas where you can adjust that centerline.

Jim's main objection to acknowledging climate change is that politicians and corporations control the media and that addressing climate change is another example of opportunistic unethical business. Here, he refers to Al Gore and the money Gore has made on carbon credits.[131] Ironically, in this regard, Jim is in line with climate justice activists[132] who critique

[131] See Broder (2009) for a discussion of Gore's green business endeavors.

[132] Goffman's concept of "keying" (1974) can explain why people with different motivations can end up in the same social movement (Meithe 2009). Jim keys actions of companies like Monsanto, and Alta Mesa (Idaho's main oil and gas company) in the same way that he keys actions of the United Nations and climate scientists. In Goffman's terms, what is "really going on" in all of these cases, for Jim, is corruption. Jim just extends this corruption key further than most self-identified climate justice activist interviewees to incorporate corporations *and* governance bodies.

market-oriented approaches to addressing climate change as false solutions.[133] Alma, in contrast, is a "firm believer in climate change."

> I think the science and the data are very clear and obviously my husband and I are at total polar opposites ends of this discussion. Um, I hope that I'm wrong, I hope that the scientists are wrong, I hope that the data is wrong and I hope that we are proven wrong and I will happily go and eat my words till the cows come home. I hope and pray that will be the case. I am terrified it is not.
>
> And I think every day, we are December 12, probably going to be a fifty-degree day in Idaho, we've been getting rain and not snow and we've had four storms, for thousand-year storms in a six-week period of time, I mean it's just, I think that the data is clear. That said, because we're in Idaho, I don't have climate change conversations with people. I do put up climate change information on my personal Facebook page ... hoping that this will prompt them [her Facebook friends] to read things and look at the data and that kind of thing, it may or may not. But as far as CAIA is concerned, we don't you know take an issue on climate change. That said, I personally know that if we are successful in stopping oil and gas activity here in Idaho and possibly for a precedent-setting lawsuit across the country, that is probably one of the most single, largest things that we can do to have a positive impact to actually start to reverse climate change.... I'm okay with actually not engaging in it in a vocal manner in Idaho because I feel like the potential for what we can accomplish by actually not being vocal about it, by working on the oil and gas issue and getting people from across, from *both* sides of the aisle to work with us hand-in-hand on putting a stop to it, has way more significance and importance than the actual conversation here in Idaho. Because it's not, we're not going to get anywhere in the conversation because there are a lot of people who feel like Jim do ... so anyway, that's just, we have, that's just one of those things in our home that we can agree to disagree.
>
> Corrie: How did you learn how to agree to disagree? It is a very important skill that most people don't have, it seems, what taught you how to do that?
>
> Jim: Survival.
>
> Alma: [laughs] It's one of those things that ... it's sort of like he's entrenched in his position and I'm entrenched in my position.... I think ultimately what will bite him is when it becomes very obvious and clear that it's here, or, I will budge because it

[133] For critiques of carbon trading and related schemes like the clean development mechanism (CDM), and UN-REDD and REDD+ (reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation) initiatives, see Cabello and Gilbertson (2012) and Reyes (2012).

> becomes very obvious and clear that it's not.... Ultimately, you know worst-case scenario, we work to improve ... our air quality, we work to improve the quality of our water, we work to improve and transition from fossil fuels where corporations control us, to alternative and renewable energies where we control our own destinies, you know. And I think we could do a much better job as a community and as a movement messaging that way, as opposed to you know what's been out there.... And that's actually a message that I've had some degree of success in communicating here in Idaho to climate change skeptics, *not* bringing in the climate change conversation but just saying to them, "well you know what, so long as they can control what happens when you flip that switch, you don't control your own destiny, somebody is always in power, has power over you and control over you. Only when you control what happens when you flip that switch, or you turn that ignition on in your car, that's freedom, that's ultimate freedom." *That* people get, that they connect to, but if I go and say to them, you know because of climate change you better get some damn solar panels on your roof, you better get that electric car in your garage, that will not go over well ... so, yep we just agree to disagree, you have to, you know.
>
> Jim: Plus we don't even talk about it, there are so many other things. Not a big concern. We've never directly even talked about it.
>
> Alma: We have, I've tried to send you things.
>
> Jim: Oh, you tried, I said *we*—two part communication [all laugh]
>
> Alma: And he won't and that's ok.

Whether or not there is a deeper tension behind Jim's humor in this exchange is not clear. Alma and Jim have been married for decades and work closely with one another in business and CAIA. In the seven weeks I lived with Alma and Jim, our interview was the time I saw them most at odds. Their ability to agree to disagree with one another amid the stress of organizing 24/7 demonstrates their skill at the practice and bodes well for CAIA's ability to continue building a group across political lines.

However, if not grounded in a strong relationship of trust, conversations like Jim and Alma's can endanger members' working relationships. CAIA lost three core members over such a conversation on disagreements. Jan and Wayne, who are conservative, and William

Johnson, who is liberal, were the members that left the core group.[134] Ever since they hosted the first CAIA meeting at their home, Jan and Wayne, who constantly finished each other's sentences during our interview, worked carefully to establish an agreeing to disagree philosophy in the group. They are very committed to it:

> Wayne: We had fifteen people here and I said we've got to consider this like our tea party.... you have to work at a level where everybody agrees. If you don't, there's going to be such infighting that nobody is going to get along and everybody's going to splinter off.... I said, "I know Alma and she doesn't want to hear this, she's a flaming liberal." [Jan laughs]
>
> And she just kind of perked up [and said], "Yeah that's right, that's me." ... I said, "Good," ... and we knew most of the people in the room here.
>
> Jan: I'd say most of them [were] conservative, but libertarian
>
> Wayne: You know it's one of those check your party affiliation at the door, our concern.... And I said, "We are focused here for one thing, educating the public to stop the gas and oil from taking over ... from literally rolling over us," and that was the first meeting.
>
> Jan: You have to keep partisanship out of the group, otherwise it's not going to work because if people come in with preconceived notions—"Oh, well, you are conservative, you are with gas and oil," or, "You're liberal, oh well ... you are an environmentalist wacko ..."—and we just never brought it up.
>
> Wayne: Occasionally it was brought up, not often.
>
> Jan: Somebody did bring up the issue and I said I disagreed and that was the downfall of me, with the group.
>
> Wayne: That's it, we're done.

The downfall of Jan, who had been a CAIA board member, happened when she and William Johnson got into a conversation on climate change. Jan and Wayne are climate change deniers, William Johnson is very concerned with the issue and a dominant masculine force in

[134] Jan left the board after the conversation I recount in the next paragraph. Her husband Wayne left in support of her. William Johnson left a little later. They all remain members of CAIA.

conversation. Jan explains that William kept "rehashing the same stuff and I wanted to move on, I wanted to take the high road and he kept [going]" (Jan). This conversation happened on the heels of what all group members felt was a "disastrous" (Shelley Brock) public forum in Fruitland. Among a number of problems with lighting and technology (Shelley Brock), William Johnson had gone over his time limit in speaking about how Idaho policies had systematically worked to quell renewable energy leading up to the beginning of oil and gas development. Shelley said that his presentation was good for the first six or seven minutes, but "it started sounding like he was a solar salesman" (Shelley Brock). "We had friends at the meeting who said, 'Who the hell was that and why is he ranting on that?'" (Jan and Wayne). The long presentation on solar turned off the conservative crowd in Fruitland who had come to see presentations on oil and gas. Tension over what messaging the group should stick to was high and likely contributed to the stakes of Jan and William's conversation. William left the core group soon after because of interpersonal problems with another member. This phase in the group's development demonstrates that talking across lines is not easy and not always neat or successful. Besides commitment, its success is dependent on individual personalities and stress levels as well.

Talking across lines begins when an issue of common concern brings people together. For CAIA, this is accountability and integrity, messaged through property. Then, the violation of common values by a common enemy strengthens desires to take action. This is where Idaho's policies and elite interests illustrate the injustice of oil and gas development and the need to change state and industry behavior. This exposure of injustice is an ongoing process of talking across lines. To continue working together, members must cultivate the skill of agreeing to disagree. With enough trust, conversations about these disagreements can

take place, and even convince people to think more about each other's perspectives, as demonstrated by my and Dottie's exchange in the opening of this chapter. Jim, also, over the time I conducted fieldwork, became less and less adamant in his climate change skepticism. The components of talking across lines I've identified build unity against corporate efforts to divide, something of vital importance for all movements for radical social change.

While I hope this chapter provides scholars and organizers insights and practices that may work particularly well in places with diverse political stripes, I also want to illustrate the messiness of political difference itself.

Friction: The Messiness of Talking Across Lines[135]

> How do we convince people that life on earth is worth saving? This is a political question as well as an environmental one. It requires a politics of working across difference in which the goal is not to make difference disappear but to make it part of the political program. Furthermore, the task requires the same breadth of global connection as does frontier resource extraction.
>
> – Anna Tsing (2004:211)

Talking across lines is wrought with friction, but it should be, right? Working across difference is just that, defining, embracing, and setting practices around difference. People are not cut and dried in their opinions, nor are they defined by singular identities, but rather by configurations of lived experiences (Bhavnani and Bywater 2009).

Working across lines of difference involves friction between people with different perspectives and friction within individuals, between their complex and seemingly contradictory views. Friction, Tsing argues, also creates productive tension. In CAIA, this is

[135]This subtitle is inspired by Anna Tsing's idea of friction (2004).

clear in how the group develops its strategy of focusing on accountability and integrity and in interviewees' stories about their perspectives. The friction of working with people who believe and do not believe in climate change leads CAIA as a group to dig deeper for the roots of problems they all care about. In individuals, changing and ambiguous opinions, particularly around opposition to oil and gas, motivations for opposing the industry, and climate change beliefs illustrate the heterogeneity and complexity of political categories and labels.

Opposition to Oil and Gas

Figure 13. Open minded Republican. Idaho's First Climate Action Rally, October 24/25, 2015.

A few interviewees were immediately against drilling for oil and gas in Idaho. Most, however, were curious about the potential to be Jed Clampett.[136] "We thought oh drill, that's wonderful ... we'll use our own resources and it will benefit the community" (Jan). Economic growth was and is a message the gas industry and state uses to promote oil and gas expansion (see Idaho Petroleum Council 2016). After conducting research about fracking online, interviewees all concluded that the possibility of becoming Jed Clampett was a myth, especially for small landowners, and that the risks of oil and gas outweigh any potential benefits.

Although these conclusions drove their participation in CAIA, some CAIA members believed oil and gas *could* be extracted safely in *some* cases. "Messiness" is how I characterize these perspectives that oppose oil and gas, recognize that renewable energy makes more sense, and yet, simultaneously adhere to the belief that it might not be necessary to oppose oil and gas in all cases.

An example of this situation is evident in the perspectives of Luke and Brynna Smith. Both were neither for nor against oil and gas when they heard that their neighborhood would be force pooled, just two weeks after moving into their home in 2014. They wanted to know both sides of the story to formulate their own opinion, so they did research online and made phone calls to the state. They formulated an anti-industry attitude *for areas near people*. It would be fine, Brynna said, if it were "out in the middle of nowhere." The Smiths recognize the need for energy and potential for energy independence, *but* they simultaneously wonder why solar cannot be the focus. They also know, through experience, what a bad neighbor oil

[136] Jed Clampett is the protagonist of the 1962 sitcom (which ran for nine season) and 1993 film *The Beverly Hillbillies.* He is an impoverished miner who strikes it rich when oil begins spurting out of his land.

and gas is. Luke and Brynna therefore, are not totally against oil and gas, but mostly. They can see both sides but have, because of their research, decided to actively oppose the Industry. They hold views that are in friction with one another, but which likely reflect the views of much of the U.S. population better than a completely anti- or pro-oil and gas stance.[137] Brynna recognizes that her desire to have wells where they are not near anything that could affect people pretty much means she's against oil and gas. Luke articulates a view focused on developing natural gas so as to enhance energy efficiency and economic benefits.

> Brynna: Well, I don't know, I kind of still feel like if they want to do this, if they want to drill and whatnot, I don't feel strongly enough against it.... I don't care that much I guess if they do it elsewhere, like out in the middle of nowhere where it's much less likely to affect people, but I think anywhere near homes, *anywhere* near homes or waterways or anything like that is, yeah. And having dealt with the gas company personally, that's what gave me the opinion. You know they're, it's all, there's nothing transparent, there's so many lies, they just treat us like crud, so, that's where, and we say that to people all the time, we didn't have an opinion going into this, now we do because we've lived it firsthand. So I mean I guess it's not something *I would say that I'm completely against ever anywhere because I just don't feel that way, but um, nowhere where people live or would be affected which I mean, that eliminates a lot of possibilities, [laughs] so there you go, I guess that solves the problem*, but that's how I feel....
>
> Luke: Well ... I have two different ... forms of thought, I am very aligned with my wife in this thing, initially I had no opinion, but I know that we live in a world that relies on this stuff and so sadly until that reliance is completely gone, it is going to be sought after, so I do understand that yes they are going to look for this stuff, and they're gonna figure out a way to get it, but I am also understanding that we are told to be responsible and stewards, *right now it's let's get it and get it as fast as we can and make as much money as we can rather than saying well, can we make this last or can we make this something that we can utilize every part of it, decrease pollution, and still make the neighbors happy?* ... On the other side of it, it's like okay, we use it, can we use it to better this [local] economy that's here? You know they keep saying, "Oh it's good for the economy, all right so ...
>
> Brynna: Show me.

[137] In 2014, the Pew Research Center found that twelve percent of Americans didn't know whether or not they opposed or favored fracking; forty-one percent were in favor and forty-seven percent were opposed (Drake 2015).

> Luke: Yeah, show me. Let's start establishing setbacks and making it appealing, you know. I'm looking at a gas company side of it, let's look at it, make it appealing to the people in this area.... Let's take it here, work with the local community and do setbacks, improve, maybe we can tie it to the local power grid here to reduce everybody's power grids or use of foreign oil ... and truly make it a natural gas state, where it's efficient low footprint community. So that's ideally what I would like to see, but right now you are either one or the other [for or against] ... *so right now we understand there's a need for it, but we want it done in a responsible manner* and you know even though we can't stop it, we may be able to control it to improve our community and the community wherever it gets shipped out to. (Luke and Brynna Smith, my emphases)

Later in our conversation, Luke also recognizes that the United States should have embraced solar power in the sixties, that there has not been a lot of forethought in energy production. Luke and Brynna's conversation parallels conversations I had with other interviewees who have complicated views about oil and gas. Alma, for instance, though she is concerned about climate change, also often says that people should have the right to develop their mineral rights if they want to. They just shouldn't be *forced* to. Joli, who was concerned about the toxic effects the processing facility could have on her dogs, was not against oil and gas and thought that if the majority of the people in her neighborhood, who had lived there for generations, wanted to drill, they should be able to. She just thought they should pay to relocate her business.

NIMBY: And Not in Yours Either

> We don't want to say that you can't drill anywhere, but we are going to say that it can't be here, we are going to live here.
>
> – Peter Dill

NIMBYism, as I hinted above, is another area where views are complex. Statements like the one above, from Peter, who believes in being a steward of creation and is therefore strongly

against oil and gas and dismayed by how the industry destroys communities—in other words, not a NIMBY—are common. Both Alma and Jim entered activism after being personally affected by industry—Alma by her CAFO (confined animal feeding operation) neighbor and Jim when Alma was put in jail. Both, however, had continued giving all of their energy to the fight against oil and gas even though no land had been leased near their home. Besides driving twenty minutes to areas like Fruitland and New Plymouth, where extraction is happening or imminent, they also often drove one hour each way to Emmett or Eagle to organize people there, where there are leases but no drilling, yet. Their continued involvement stems from their motivations rooted, not in NIMBY concerns, but in a sense of injustice at how CAFOs, Payette County (who jailed Alma), industry, and the state do business. At bottom, even though Jim says he is fine with people making money and Alma says she is fine with people developing their minerals, their demands that business be conducted ethically preclude oil and gas extraction. The oil and gas industry is only profitable because of the preferential treatment it receives from government and the fact that it externalizes the cost of its waste, in the form of climate change. In Alma and Jim's preferred ethical regulatory environment, oil and gas development would not be profitable. It would not be a viable business.

Shelley and Stealth Officer also have complex ways of relating to NIMBY issues. Both got involved when they discovered seismic testing for oil and gas happening in Emmett, about twenty minutes from where each of them live. Stealth Office fears for his home. "It's not a wasteland here, it's a home, it's where people live, it's where people grow, you know,

it's my home, I don't want it to get wrecked" (Stealth Officer).[138] Stealth Officer often mentions that he wants to protect his place, but he also recognizes the gravity of climate change and the need to protect the whole area for future generations. Shelley, perhaps because of her experience attending the 2015 Stop the Frack Attack conference in Denver with Alma, is attuned to the national scope of the problem and the potential to help others in the country by stopping fracking in Idaho. She recognizes that she first got involved to protect their valley, but now knows they have to stop it everywhere or no place will be safe.

> I've always felt like ... why would I get involved and cause myself all that stress you know, but ... it's like you just have no choice. We're, well for one thing, we are going to be directly impacted right where we live, sooner than later, obviously, because Brad Little owns all this land, our lieutenant governor and um, he's heavily involved in the industry. We know he is going to be drilling, fracking, right here, ruin this valley we live in. But I would be fighting this hard if it was just going to be in Emmett, really, because I just, *the injustice of it*, you know, just infuriates me and I guess if I, you know, there are no alternatives, like you can't even move to get away from 'em [oil and gas], when you look at the scope of what it's done across the country. It's not like you can sell your land here and move somewhere before it hits because you don't know where they are going to go next, but you know they are. (Shelley Brock, my emphasis)

Another layer to NIMBYism in relation to Alma is that she has a particular dislike for NIMBYism among others. She attributes this to growing up poor and being made fun of for her poverty as a child. Because of this, she sees all people as deserving the same standard of living, no matter their class (which she often talked about in terms of house size).

> My number one issue is that of people who ... they'll be involved, maybe, if it's in their backyard, but if it's over here [where] ... the houses that are worth $100,000 less, maybe it's okay in [that] neighborhood, and it's clearly not.... That's what gets me ... everybody's, we are all equal, all of us are equal. I don't care if you're white,

[138] In *Wastelanding: Legacies of Uranium Mining in Navajo Country* (2015), Traci Brynne Voyles asks the question of what is "wasteland" and who gets to decide? Places designated as wastelands by governments and industry are typically home to marginalized communities. They are not wastelands at all. Idaho is a case of locating industry in—wastelanding—white areas. In this way, fracking extends the discourse of wastelanding to new arenas.

> black, purple, red, pink, gay, straight, bi, whatever, we are all people and people deserve to be protected equally because they are human beings, not because of where they live or what color they are, or what race they are, or what sexual orientation they are." (Alma Hasse)

To broaden NIMBY people's eyes, Alma often says, "Ok, you don't want it by your house, is it ok by your mother's house? Your sister's?" (Fieldwork).

In my fieldwork, NIMBYism was notable among people learning about oil and gas for the first time. In reference to oil and gas leasing in Eagle, however, where people are wealthier and where huge homes on grassy expanses abound, there is more of a tendency for people to say things like "it's just absolutely unbelievable, so close to all those *nice* homes" (Dottie Hawthorne, my emphasis). That people are commonly surprised that oil and gas development would occur in wealthier neighborhoods, reflects an underlying acceptance of some places as sacrifice zones (see Bell 2014; Scott 2010). "Yeah, we are expendable ... we are low-key enough that we can be overseen, I think that's how they look at it. Go do this in Eagle, see what happens. See how many people get upset" (Luke Smith).

Climate Change: The Elephant in the Room

Alongside opposition to oil and gas and NIMBYism, climate change is a third element about which people had ambivalent and complex views. Some interviewees expressed skepticism about climate change. While climate change skeptics are routinely interpreted as only part of the problem by liberals and climate justice activists, it is not that simple.[139] CAIA members,

[139] For example, 350.org and Attac France (2015) write, "At every stage powerful forces—fossil fuel corporations, agro-business companies, financial institutions, dogmatic economists, skeptics and deniers, and governments in the thrall of these interests—stand in the way or promote false solutions." To the extent that they oppose climate justice

whether they believed in climate change or not, were doing good things for the climate by fighting natural gas. In addition, just because someone is skeptical about climate change or that it is human caused, does not mean they are not concerned with pollution or cannot recognize that our social practices of consumption, what sociologist John Urry calls "high carbon lives" (2011), are not sustainable.

Peter Dill, for example, is not convinced that climate change is human-caused, but he is convinced that we are not being good stewards of the earth: "I mean at the root of it, for us it comes back to, how are we doing as stewards of the earth? What we know very clearly is that our generation is a heavy polluter and we have no business doing that" (Peter Dill). He is concerned about the system wide problem of consumption:

> We are also heavy consumers who have forgotten a very important word, and that's conservation. And we pay for it. So climate change for us is a part of this larger issue of stewardship. It's related to pollution, which is related to poor habits and things that are hurtful for us and our neighbors ... if we can think about conserving we wouldn't have to do nearly as many of these things to support habits that are not all that great for us. And if we would simplify our lives and not be as gadget-oriented or as interested in all the things that are very power consumptive and particularly, it's not just power, it's everything the petrochemicals do, if we would simplify back from some of those things, this issue could go away. So yeah, climate change is a piece of it. (Peter Dill)

Peter's beliefs center pollution as a problem. They blur the falsely drawn neat boxes of liberalism and conservatism. He thinks climate change is happening, citing the science, but that it might be unrelated to humans. Peter is also a lawyer, an organic farmer, and someone

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legislation, climate skeptics do stand in the way of climate justice. However, their uncertainty about climate change, and even opposition to legislation, does not preclude them from *also* supporting activities that alleviate climate change. I do not mean to excuse climate skepticism, but to highlight how, relative to structures of climate change denial (see chapter two for my account of the campaign to obscure climate science, now endorsed by the President of the United States), everyday people who are skeptical about climate change pose little threat and may even be allies in other ways.

who believes deeply in creation. It is important to recognize the blurred and socially constructed nature of these categories. Blurry messiness rather than neat stereotypes characterize the political views of many people in the United States (Gelman 2011). Defining neat dividing lines is in the interest of corporations. It helps industry maintain power and divide people by obscuring their common interests.

Sherry Gordon and Jim show similar complexities in their view of climate change. They rely on data for supporting their fight against oil and gas, but are suspicious of both climate change data and climate change scientists. They think scientists can be bought. Sherry has decided that whether climate change is real or not does not matter for her work:

> I know either there is climate change, or there isn't, and I've heard of, seen in the news, things from both sides that have really concerned me, made me think these people [vocal politicians or scientists whom Sherry thinks can all be bought by special interests] are slimy, you know, just playing a game. So I don't know what it is, if there is climate change, I'm very concerned about it, I mean there's clearly climate change, you know we are experiencing weather patterns that are wacky the last two or three years in particular, and I love animals and you know, I'm very concerned about the land. But to me, the issue of climate change—except that I am totally sensitized to it because of the need, I say, and as a group, we have agreed in CAIA, that we need to cut it out so we are not pushing people away necessarily and so we are not necessarily drawing people to us who are rabidly one way or another, which will push people away—I just, I pray for the earth and do what I can to further these motives, but it's like what we do about gas and oil as a community, as a nation, as a world, is clearly going to affect the planet and whether you know, if that's going to help the climate, then it is, but it's horrible ... all the effects of gas and oil I mean are so varied and that just to me takes absolute precedence ... over whether I need to decide whether there's some kind of climate change you know. It's interesting because people are talking about climate change and ... is it human-caused or not? And clearly, we have weather change, and is that human-caused? Well, I don't know, how can I tell? But everything we do is human-caused, all the pollution is human-caused, all the horrible, you know, health effects for people and the animals, are human-caused. [chuckles] We just, we have to look at what we are doing, whether it affects the climate or not. (Sherry Gordon)

Again, Sherry's explanation bursts all categories of thinking on climate change and emphasizes pollution, like Peter's words. She's skeptical of the science, but she recognizes

climate changes in her own observations of the weather. She is concerned about the effects climate change could have, if it is real, on people and animals. She's very in tune to the need to be careful with CAIA's messaging around climate change and how that affects who they can attract to the group. She concludes that oil and gas is the most urgent problem there is. She also recognizes that everything is human-caused and that humans need to look at what we are doing. Through different language, this is exactly what the climate justice movement advocates.

CONCLUSION

The friction and messiness of talking across lines makes CAIA a new and hopeful model of practice for radical social change. It targets the same roots of injustice as the climate justice movement. In their focus on natural gas, CAIA members are automatically linked with the broad and growing global movement against the fossil fuel industry, a movement that has arisen because of the climate crisis. The breadth of global connection that Tsing (2004) advocates seems to be growing. The next step would be for more climate justice activists and anti-extraction activists to fully accept each other, even if they sit on different sides of the political aisle, and begin working together on a larger scale.

In focusing on common values, what everyone can agree on, CAIA works amid difference for a goal grounded in justice. They recognize that they are stronger and more effective despite and because of the different views of their membership. CAIA members' choices to check particular differences at the door is a strategy that allows the group to work together on what they do hold in common. By working together, members build relationships

of trust, that, when sufficiently strong, can allow them to begin discussing their differences and agreeing to disagree. Eventually, agreeing to disagree might lead to changes of opinion. Building relationships, especially through working on a project which people are deeply committed to because of a core value (e.g. respect, responsibility, trustworthiness, caring, fairness, property rights) is a key first step for cultivating empathy and valuing difference.

CAIA's resistance is based on the idea that people should treat each other with respect and that in business, everyone should be a winner—businesses should serve communities. The oil and gas industry violates these core values; so does government through its connections with industry. CAIA's core ideas are informed by the life experience of its members. Their experiences lead them to create practices to uphold values that they hold dear. Jim has been a small business owner since he was seventeen and is dedicated to a number of practices in his business that support win-win situations for himself, his employees, and his clients.[140] Alma grew up poor in Kentucky and served in the military out of a belief in the importance of defending the values of the United States. Ever since she was young, she has stood up for the underdog. Like Alma, Sherry has always been someone who will put in the work that is needed when no one else will. Others, like the Dills, are driven to protect creation. They feel imbued with a responsibility to be stewards of the earth. All of these people come together around their shared understandings of right and wrong. They

[140] "I'm all about business, I don't care about how much money a business makes, they can make trillions of dollars God bless em, *as long as* all parties won. But when a business has a business plan where they take advantage of other people and they use laws to protect them and to create laws that allow them to have the ability to take advantage of other people, that's a problem" (Jim Plucinski).

think people's actions should serve the good of their communities and that all people should enjoy a good quality of life.

CAIA grasps the root of the problem in a sophisticated way that is more effective than focusing only on environment or only on social justice. Its name, identity, and purpose are all founded on addressing the roots of many social and environmental problems. Though no CAIA members identified themselves as anarchists or revolutionaries or anti-capitalists—and would not, I think—in their grasp of the root of the problem, they are radical. As Karl Marx noted, "To be radical is to grasp things by the root" ([1888] 1978). Though they are not thinking in terms of system change right now, the changes they work on daily require new systems to function: a new system of culture where care and respect are primary, and a new system of economics and politics where big business does not control decision-makers and where decision-makers represent the interests of the people. In Jim's words:

> People need to start realizing what their true enemy is and that's the collusion between unethical business and corrupt government, and even get down to the roots, get back to building society, back for people who care. The bottom line is that we wouldn't have any of these problems if everybody followed the golden rule, done, it's over. We wouldn't need government to make laws because we'd be concerned about the other person.

CAIA then, is one example of bringing people together across political difference to work for change that would benefit all justice movements. CAIA members bring all of their energy to their struggle. As Shelley explained, some of them are ready to give their lives for the effort. She knows of someone who died of cancer after building New York's grassroots anti-fracking movement. Shelley is convinced the stress of the battle triggered her cancer. Reflecting on this, Shelley said:

> You know when you think about that and you think this could kill you, but you have no choice, I mean if we want our kids to have any place to live or even when you look

> at the broad picture of the whole planet you know, God if we don't stand up and try to stop it, we're just gonna let them ruin everything all for greed and we'll go to our graves wishing we had done more you know.... I think we were put here for a purpose and that's to honor the creation, I really believe that with my whole heart and soul and I can't imagine not trying to fight for this, trying to fight for everything we've been given here, so, it's just the right thing to do. (Shelley Brock)

Shelley and others dedicate themselves for the future, for young people.

Not all interviewees I spoke to are hopeful, but some are. Peter Dill is particularly hopeful about the youth.

> I'm interested in and hopeful for a generation of our young people, your generation, to live well and thoughtfully of neighbors and carefully with creation and innovatively with technology, and more simply than our generation does. And what do I think about the prospects? How do I feel about that happening? You know, I'm optimistic because I can see the narrowness, the death, if you will, in kind of where things are headed and I also see the beauty of the earth, the beauty of community relationships, the beauty of innovation, and the beauty of simplicity and I just am not sure how people can't be attracted to that if they will open their eyes.
>
> So I'm optimistic about it. And if it doesn't happen, I still want to be optimistic. *Because the alternative is just not joyful***.** And, I don't mean to be insane, thinking about something that's obviously not rational, but I would rather keep a level of optimism in people being able to receive truth than condemn people to stupidity and embracing falsehood. And there are a lot of really wonderful young people around who are looking for vision and looking for something to do with their life that will be joyful and I'm all for them, I think they're going to do well. (Peter Dill, my emphasis)

In the next chapter, I turn to young people to examine how they, in their own ways, work across lines to bring about the change that Peter envisions. They move beyond working across political lines to also work across lines of identity and passions.

CHAPTER SIX

Climate Justice Movement Building: Youth Values and Cultures of Creation

> I am optimistic about our generation specifically ... we've been criticized a lot ... but I think those of us that do care, take that, and want to do something with it. I think we realize that we were handed a very tough situation to work with ... you know we're at a tipping point, of course there's been many tipping points throughout history, but this one specifically ... we can either do something or not, and depending on how we treat it, is ... gonna determine the fate of the human race, to put it lightly [Michael and I laugh].... I'm hopeful ... there are so many people around the world working on every different issue. We have a very uphill battle, but I think an achievable one.
>
> – Michael Fanelli, youth climate justice activist, Santa Barbara, California

Today's movements prioritize movement building as a core component of their work to change the world. 350.org, a core network in the climate justice movement explains: "350.org is building a global climate movement" (350.org). The Black Lives Matter Network writes, "We are working to (re)build the Black liberation movement" (BlackLivesMatter). These movements are often sparked and led by youth organizers—millennials in the case of 350.org and Black Lives Matter (BLM), people who will live with climate crisis our entire lives.[141] They advocate revolution in culture, revolution in values, and call for a social organization that does not destroy our home and kill its members. They are grounded in a long history of work for social justice, whose important lessons Martin Luther King Jr. summarized nearly fifty years ago in "Beyond Vietnam" (1967):

[141] While precise definitions differ, millennial generally refers to the cohort of people born from 1980 to the mid-1990s, people who have come of age in the new millennium. The eldest are in their early thirties at the time of writing. This concurs with the definition of youth by the youth constituency (YOUNG) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, in which people under thirty-five may participate. I consider myself part of this group.

> We as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of *values*. We must rapidly begin the shift from a "thing-oriented society" to a "person-oriented society." When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights, are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered. (my emphasis)

Today, capitalist values have created the wildcard of climate change to exacerbate the crises King identified (see Clark and York 2005; Foster, Clark, and York 2010; Klein 2014). To counteract the climate crisis and envision a different future, what values do millennial climate justice activists espouse and how do they embody these? How, in other words, are they building movements?

To address these questions, this chapter explores what I call a "climate justice culture of creation." It argues that youth elements of the climate justice movement are responding to climate change by cultivating values of relationships, accessibility, intersectionality, and community and that these, and their embodiment in specific practices, constitute a climate justice culture of creation that is integral to movement building—to working across lines to realize a broad-based social movement.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Climate justice culture of creation builds on John Foran's concept (2014) of a political culture of creation, or PCOC. Developed in the study of revolutions, PCOC[142] argues that social change emerges through the creation of revolutionary political cultures that tend to be egalitarian, horizontally organized, invested in deep democracy, and prefigurative—working in ways that reflect the world that activists want to create (see Boggs 1977-78; Breines 1982;

[142] See Reed and Foran (2002:338) note 2 for the lineage of the concept.

Polletta 2002). Ideologies, idioms, networks, lived experience, and emotions form these cultures (Foran 2014). [143]

Climate justice culture of creation (CJCOC) extends PCOC in two ways. First, by grounding the analysis of a PCOC—a framework developed through more meso-level historical comparative analysis of many cases—in the values and practices of activists themselves, CJCOC centers activists' own theories. This deepens the concept's capacity to foreground activists' agency and produce "movement-relevant theory"—theory that critically engages with the dialogues and questions that concern movements themselves (Bevington and Dixon 2005). Second, I employ CJOC to understand the process of movement building. While Juris et al. (2014) examine and highlight the importance of movement building as an *outcome*, which they define as "the creation of movement infrastructures required for sustained organizing and mobilization" (329), in this chapter, I examine the *process* of movement building—*how* activists strive to create these infrastructures. I also argue for

[143] These factors are analogous to concepts used in social movement studies (noted in italics). For example, idioms and *frames* have much in common. *Frames* are "building blocks of a discourse" (Steger and Milicevic 2014:11) that describe what it is that is going on (Goffman 1974:25; Snow 2004; Snow et al. 1986). Lived experience, ideology, and idioms are all components of *collective identity*, a social movement's shared understanding of problems and solutions which some scholars refer to as a sense of "we." Social movement scholars recognized the importance of organizational and social *networks* for social movement mobilization decades ago (Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson 1980) and offer multiple concepts that resonate with the values I highlight in this chapter. For example, *networks* are key for movement building (Juris et al. 2014) and work through relationships (della Porta 2009) which build and transmit human capital among activists to create what Van Dyke and Dixon (2013) call "activist capital." The latter provides the skills or "developmental benefits" (Polletta 2002) necessary to empower individuals for lifelong activism (Van Dyke and Dixon 2013). The other core component of PCOC, *emotions*, are critical causal mechanisms in all aspects of culture related to social movements—frames, identities, narratives, and relationships—, yet rarely included in analysis of these topics (Jasper 2011).

thinking of movement building as important beyond movements. In the climate justice movement, activists engage in movement building to not only enable future mobilization, but more importantly, to create the world they want to live in. Activists see movement building––creating a political culture capable of sustaining, nourishing, and growing the capacity of people to transform their experience, ideas, and relationships into action for social change, and new ways of living—as central in addressing the crisis of climate change and social injustice.

Before outlining youth's climate justice culture of creation, I first describe the context in which many interviewees organized, as well as common journeys to climate justice activism.

CONTEXT AND METHODS

This chapter is based on in-depth interviews with twenty-nine youth climate justice activists in Santa Barbara County, California (see Table 8 for interviewee characteristics) and participant observation with activist groups.

Table 8. Demographic Characteristics of Youth Interviewees

N=29		
	Average	**Range**
Interview Length	69.6 minutes	52 – 108 minutes
Age	23	19 – 34
	% (N)	
Women[1]	52% (15)	
Men[1]	48% (14)	
Mixed Race/Ethnicity[1]	41% (12)	
White Race/Ethnicity[1]	46% (13)	
Identifies as Person of Color	31% (9)	
Recent Alumni of UCSB	54% (15)	
Current UCSB Student	34% (10)	
Majors	Sociology, Global Studies, Environmental Studies, Ecology, Economics, and Communications	
Group Affiliations	Black Student Union, Environmental Affairs Board, Fossil Free UC, Students Against Sweatshops, Students for Justice in Palestine, 350 Santa Barbara, Students Against Fracking, Student Commission on Racial Equality, California Student Sustainability Commission, and Center on Race, Poverty and the Environment, among others.	

[1] Interviewees self-described their gender and race/ethnicity. Mixed race describes those who identified with multiple racial and ethnic identities.

These millennial, or youth activists, organize in a state that is simultaneously a leader in climate policy (e.g. Megerian 2015) *and* the third largest producer of crude oil in the country, historically and currently (U.S. Energy Information Administration 2014; U.S. Energy Information Administration 2016c).[144] All interviewees were either currently attending college, or recent alumni, and the majority were affiliated with the University of California Santa Barbara (UCSB), the greenest public university in the United States, according to Princeton Review in 2015 (Princeton Review 2015). UCSB bills itself as a leader in

[144] The climate justice movement leverages this contradiction to target Governor Jerry Brown in a video series called What the Frack, Jerry Brown?! (http://whatthefrackjerrybrown.com/).

sustainability and a "center for environmental movements since the 1969 oil spill" (UCSB Sustainability). Indeed, mirroring the strength of community environmental nonprofits founded in the 1970s, UCSB has one of the oldest and largest environmental studies programs in the country and a robust student environmental activist community. Since 1992, students have organized the Environmental Affairs Board (EAB), a group with an officer team of about twenty people, wielding an annual budget of approximately $30,000. The university has forty student groups related to sustainability, who come together as ECOalition.

With one exception, interviewees were in their teens or twenties, without children of their own, and, in the majority of cases, recently or currently involved with organizing on college campuses or in student campaigns. While all interviewees espoused climate justice perspectives, not all called themselves "climate justice activists." Many self-identified as environmentalists and social justice activists. All had organized against extreme energy extraction, which in this dissertation includes hydraulic fracturing or fracking, tar sands, and transportation of oil by rail, and had engaged in a number of different tactics and campaigns, including protest, lobbying, awareness raising, and education. These occurred in the context of electoral politics, divestment at the local and statewide university level, community engagement, and environmental sustainability efforts related to water use, food, and the beyond-human environment. Interviewees had protested the Keystone XL pipeline, campaigned for fossil fuel divestment, participated in California anti-fracking and climate marches, and worked on Measure P, the 2014 ballot measure to ban extreme oil extraction in Santa Barbara County. In addition to the environmental groups interviewees organized, a number also participated in an array of social/cultural focused groups, like the Black Student

Union, Student Commission on Racial Equality, Students Against Sweatshops, Students for Justice in Palestine, LGBTQ organizing, white ally groups, and women's support groups. For many, their involvement sprung from learning about environmental and social problems in high school and college classes and student groups.

As a local youth climate justice organizer myself, I had organized alongside or exchanged emails with many climate justice activists in the Santa Barbara community prior to beginning this research project (see Figure 14). Thus, I recruited interviewees through personal connections. I employed snowball sampling in a couple of cases and in all, pursued maximum variation sampling (Lofland et al. 2006) to interview youth at all levels of activist involvement (from leaders and trained organizers, to people who had been members of a group for only a short time) and of varied racial and gender identities. To gain diverse insights on how to create a more inclusive climate justice movement, I oversampled activists of color, who are underrepresented in local and national movements for climate justice, and especially in adult organizations (Taylor 2014). Fifty-two percent of interviewees identified as women or female, forty-one percent identified with multiple racial and ethnic identities, and thirty-one percent identified as persons of color.

Figure 14. Youth activist and I collect signatures for Measure P. UCSB, April 2014.

Journeys

Youth had a variety of journeys into climate justice activism. Miranda's AP environmental studies class changed her understanding of how humans interact with the environment: "We are part of our environment, it's not like we are separate from nature" (Miranda O'Mahony). Kori also learned about the crisis as a high school student. Her source of information was *An Inconvenient Truth,* which she saw with a friend.

> I was just shocked at the realities of what was going on, things I've never even thought about, and I was like wow, that's amazing and also sad that I've lived up until my junior year of high school and I didn't know these kind of impacts that I was having on the world and what our society was doing to the world, so that was kind of what sparked it [her activism]. (Kori Lay)

Her concern over ignorance of the crisis, until she was about sixteen, is ironic considering that she gained awareness and started acting much earlier than most Americans. In 2015, despite scientific consensus (Oreskes 2004) that climate change is caused primarily by humans burning fossil fuels, only fifty-two percent of Americans thought global warming was human-caused; eighteen percent thought global warming was not happening (Leiserowitz et al. 2015).

Amanda's college study abroad course in London exposed her to the climate justice movement. When the professor, John Foran, asked her what she wanted to do and what she cared about, she explained how climate change seemed like the thing to work on. "I want to do something to change for the good and the only thing that felt like, wow, I can actually do something right now, like this is happening right now, was climate justice" (Amanda Lusk). Maria, a sociology major, felt a duty to do something after learning so much about inequality and environmental justice in her courses. "I feel like as a sociology major, it's like I have like a duty to try to be involved and kind of disqualify people that try to say that things are not going on because I know that they are and I can quote different things and just show them" (Maria Castro). Kai felt that he finally learned "the uncut history of things" in college, which he found so awful and fueled by greed that he sought out other students who felt as he did. His activism was a logical step from this awareness, "I realized I was like, oh, I am gathering petitions.... I didn't approach it like, oh, I am being an activist, I was like, I really care about this so this is a logical thing to do" (Kai Wilmsen).

For Sarah, it was her first English assignment in college, a two-page essay, which set her on a course of learning about the environment. In search of a topic, she started off with

"I'm human, what does it mean to be human?" When she realized how many trees it took to create the oxygen she needed to breathe, and that she had no intention of planting all of those trees, she switched her major from interior design to environmental studies. She explained, "I changed my major because I realized I was so disconnected from my life and how it relates to the rest of life and what I'm dependent on" (Sarah).

Education and a belief that they could and should change the world were key pathways to engaging in climate justice organizing for youth activists I interviewed. For some, it took time to engage in activism, even after awareness, because they were focused on classes and transitioning to college. For others, like Miranda, who bought a train ticket to the People's Climate March the summer before her first year of college, activism was an immediate next step after awareness. Some heard about activist groups in their classes, or from friends, while others saw posters, or in some cases, identified a need for a group and created one. Within these groups, youth began cultivating particular values, a topic I now turn to.

A CLIMATE JUSTICE CULTURE OF CREATION

In this chapter, I argue that youth climate justice activists in Santa Barbara County engage in movement building by expressing and enacting particular values. These come together to create a climate justice culture of creation (CJCOC) with potential for growing the intersectional movement climate justice activists across my cases desire. This culture is just one within the climate justice movement community, with components particular to its local context and participants. Yet, based on the relevance of many of the values I detail below in

other accounts of the movement (della Porta and Parks 2014), and evidence for shared values in the large network 350.org (350.org 2016a; 350.org 2016b; 350.org 2016c; Smith 2014c),[145] the CJCOC I describe likely resonates among many parts of the movement.

In this section, I describe the core values of the CJCOC as well as how activists put these into practice. The analysis offers in-depth empirical contributions to scholar's understanding of the climate justice movement. It employs political culture of creation (Foran 2014) as a theoretical framework for examining movement building in climate change and extends the concept by centering values and illustrating the dynamic interaction of values with other components of PCOC—ideologies, idioms, networks, lived experience, and emotions. Youth values can be grouped into four key themes: relationships, accessibility, intersectionality, and community.

Relationships

Sitting across from me at a table under a brilliantly blooming red coral tree in May 2015 at the University of California Santa Barbara campus, Madeline Stano, attorney for Center on Race, Poverty, and the Environment, said, "if we're really trying to build climate justice ... that includes how we interact and are in our personal lives." Many interviewees stressed the value of relationships, not only because relationships of trust and friendship build strong and effective movements, but also, because they are key to the *creation* component of youths' climate justice culture. Just relationships are foundational to the world they want to live in.

[145] I attended the 350.org training for California group leaders in fall of 2015 as a participant. There, I saw many of the same values and practices that I document among youth activists in this chapter.

Fossil Free UCSB[146] (see Figure 15), and one of their core organizers, Theo Lequesne, learned the importance of relationships through experience. From the United Kingdom, Theo had organized in his first fossil fuel divestment campaign at the University of Warwick. There, his student group had succeeded in passing, with seventy-five percent of the student vote, a referendum on divestment motion. Since coming to UCSB for his master's degree, Theo had struggled to retain members in UCSB's Fossil Free campaign.

Figure 15. Fossil Free UCSB protest of May 19, 2015 Santa Barbara oil spill. Mock UC representatives shake hands with oil companies as a pipeline spills fake oil on students. This protest was Fossil Free UCSB's biggest of the year, made more successful by the group's efforts to strengthen relationships among members.

[146] On May 11, 2017, Fossil Free UCSB celebrated a major victory when UCSB's Chancellor Henry Yang, following a four day sit in by student activists, endorsed fossil fuel divestment. He was the first University of California Chancellor to do so.

To strengthen their group, UCSB Fossil Free sought guidance from Emily Williams, then California Student Sustainability Coalition (CSSC) campaign director for Fossil Free. She facilitated team and relationship-building workshops so group members could learn their strengths, capabilities, and knowledge levels about the campaign. This strengthened their group. Theo then recognized that at Warwick, he had organized with his group of friends and that their friendship base had facilitated their effectiveness at organizing. They had been engaged in relational organizing, which, Emily explained, is rooted

> in having these really intentional one-on-one conversations that are not about campaign strategies, it's not talking about the campaign at all ... it's focusing on getting to know someone, what's, what's driving them, where they are coming from, and using a whole series of them [conversations] to build up this trust between two people. And so, when they organize together, there's that relationship built.

Relational organizing was a thread throughout organizing at UCSB and my other research sites. Rob Holland, who was a member of multiple organizations and had led UCSB California Public Interest Research Group's (CALPIRG) anti-fracking campaign, felt that there had been much better cohesion and mutual support among environmental and social justice/cultural groups in 2014/15 than before. He explained that the Black Student Union had supported campaigns by CALPIRG (which often had environmental campaigns) and United Students Against Sweatshops, and how many student groups were recognizing their connections as they mobilized around big issues like Ferguson and #BlackLivesMatter, an important campaign for a number of interviewees. Rob thought friendships were key to this solidarity: "I think the leaders of the big environmental groups on campus are good friends with the leaders of the cultural groups and so they just like know that it's stuff that they should support."

Interviewees recognized that, when lacking friendships, expanding social networks was a necessary first step to fostering the conditions for effective organizing. Colin Loustalot and Alex Favacho, who met in 350 Santa Barbara, lamented "the limits of our white networks" (Alex Favacho). They identified the tendency to create social networks with people whom we perceive as similar to us, the principle of homophily, which creates particularly strong racial divides (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001), as a major barrier for their climate justice groups and the health of communities and social relations more generally. Colin explained: "We have this way of compartmentalizing ourselves with others that then gets reflected in our work and it's really hard to work against that. It often times feels artificial and becomes this, like do you do it even though it feels artificial?" Colin was concerned about the possibility of tokenizing people as an outcome of trying to broaden social networks. For him, social relationships—emotional connections—were necessary for changing people's preformed ideas about the world. Culture, not facts, changes minds.

> You spew facts all day and you are unlikely to change anyone's mind about anything, the facts sort of help reinforce your beliefs ... people have these preformed ideas and it's really hard to change those unless you have some kind of emotional, personal connection that will get them to, that calls on their empathy and these more ... unconscious parts of them that inform their world view. (Colin Loustalot)

Though Colin, like others, was still "baffled" about how to expand his networks in an organic way, he was able to identify an example of when he could have done so, across political lines. In February 2014, he and other members of 350 Santa Barbara held a protest against the Keystone XL Pipeline. They held "NO KXL" signs at the Santa Barbara Film Festival, hoping their signs would make it into the media's photos of stars like Oprah (see Figure 16).

Figure 16. No KXL protest signs at the 2014 Santa Barbara Film Festival, with Oprah in foreground. Photos courtesy of Becca Claassen.

A man came up to him and told him "you are all idiots, you're ignorant," and then started "grilling" him on facts. Neither Colin nor the man budged on their positions. Perhaps reflecting his observations of a fellow organizer, who was known for her relationship-building skills and having coffee with people to build relationships, Colin remarked:

> In retrospect, after it was too late, I was like, "I should have asked him to coffee," because ... I think those are opportunities where, instead of fighting and destroying to argue your point to win, those types of moments, if you can somehow turn them into something more or you can find the common ground. I think that that's where a lot of the work can happen that's behind the scenes type work, and it happens on a social level, so when people just have empathy and give a shit about each other, then they start to listen to each other more.

Colin reflected on how to turn an aggressive and confrontational interaction into a learning experience in how building social relationships across disagreement, to develop empathy and to listen, would be an effective approach to organizing.

One way to demonstrate empathy was to "show up," a practice advocated by climate justice activist organizations (e.g. Curtis 2015). Kiyomi, who was dedicating her activism at the time of our interview to building community as President of the Board of Housing Cooperatives, stressed how reciprocal relationships between friends and showing up to each other's events can build community. She advocated that activist groups develop more

"inviting energy," and communicate a sentiment of "come participate with us on this" (Kiyomi). Through building community in this manner, she felt the diversity of the movement would grow as more people from different sectors of the community learned about opportunities to be involved. Part of the power of showing up is that it puts people in face-to-face interaction, where they can "see your face and your passion" (Rob Holland), something missing in much social media interaction and online campaign actions. It also allows storytelling, an important part of social movement mobilization (Polletta 2006). As Kai Wilmsen, former leader of Environmental Affairs Board (EAB) explained: "I think there's so much power just around sharing stories and being able to like sit down with people as people and being like, 'Hey, tell me about yourself, tell me about the work you are doing,' um, like showing solidarity when you can."

Building relationships for the sake of relationships is something interviewees identify as critical to their movement-building work. Relationships promote trust, empathy, awareness of how and when to show up in solidarity with other movements, and make organizing enjoyable. Relationships strengthen organizing work and create long-lasting friendship networks critical to building a just society within climate crisis. To cultivate relationships, especially beyond individual networks, interviewees prioritized accessibility.

Accessibility

Sitting in a circle in a sunny room of a small college in Berkeley, California in fall 2015 at the first 350.org organizing summit for California group leaders, my fellow 350 Santa Barbara member, and co-founder of our group, Max Golding, raised his hand. We were

generating our group norms for the weekend workshop. Max added "calling in" to our list. This was the first time I heard the term, yet I quickly realized its salience for many of the values and practices of interviewees. Calling in is about the ability to talk across lines, whether based on identity, political affiliation, Facebook circles, or norms of interaction. It facilitates accessibility in groups through recognition that inclusive and intersectional organizing for justice is a learning process, and individuals with the best intentions can make mistakes and learn from them. It is one tool to hold people accountable when they do something oppressive, and to get them to change that problematic behavior. Writer Ngọc Loan Trần (2013)[147] explains:

> I picture "calling in" as a practice of pulling folks back in who have strayed from us. It means extending to ourselves the reality that we will and do fuck up, we stray and there will always be a chance for us to return. Calling in as a practice of loving each other enough to allow each other to make mistakes; a practice of loving ourselves enough to know that what we're trying to do here is a radical unlearning of everything we have been configured to believe is normal.

Calling in facilitates relationship and friendship building across lines among people working for justice. Interviewees' efforts to call each other in were key to making organizing accessible, to "meeting people where they're at."

Kai explained "meeting people where they're at" as follows:

> I think the most important thing [for facilitating conversations about environmental justice] is to not like hit people over the head with it ... you have to be patient ... I mean like with any conversation, because I believe it so deeply, I just try to *meet people where they're at* first and ... then have a conversation as individuals and be like, "Hey, I hear what you are saying, but what about this?" And just like, not being like, "You are wrong and this is the right way to do it," but kind of like, offering different perspectives and seeing what they think of those. (my emphasis)

[147] This definition of "calling in" comes from a blog post titled, "Calling IN: A Less Disposable Way of Holding Each Other Accountable."

Kai's explanation highlights a number of practices and perspectives that interviewees identified as key for effective organizing. As Kai communicated, the concept of "meeting people where they're at" requires patience, respect, and listening. Echoing Kai's sentiments, Kiyomi advised:

> Try to befriend as many perceived enemies as possible [laughs] and just actually become friends and hang out and just be like, "I feel this this and these are the facts, how do you feel about this?" You know? ... So in a way you have to be, not passive, but gentle, and be patient with the conversation, instead of being like, "I'm this blah blah blah blah blah, this is what I believe, BOOM," they're going to be like, "Who are you, what?" and not even process anything that you have to say. Connection, man, it's powerful [laughs].

By recommending activists ask people how they feel about the facts, and be patient and gentle, Kiyomi alludes to the importance of feelings and values for informing how people interpret information. Her hunch is widespread among interviewees and consistent with literature on climate change beliefs (McCright et al. 2016). In the eighty-seven studies that McCright et al. (2016) review, scientific literacy is the second *least* important predictor of pro-climate views. Most of the time, the facts are not enough to convince people. Through experience, interviewees had learned that appealing to values, strategic framing, and friendship, or preexisting networks (McAdam 1988), were also vital.

Kyle Fischler, treasurer of CSSC and former EAB leader, stressed how educational events that were celebratory and inviting to all kinds of people could be employed to facilitate understanding across different worldviews:

> If [someone is] not already partially on your side, you're not going to get them on your side by writing a very strong case against their worldview or what they believe in ... in order to get all those people that are on the fence, I think some of the most effective ways of organizing are just hosting celebrations, where you can also ingrain some education into it.

A good example of this, according to Kyle, is the annual Isla Vista (the town where many UCSB students live) Earth Day celebration in April. Hosted by Environmental Affairs Board and funded by student fees, the event showcases local bands, food, and gives student groups opportunities to share their information with attendees. Another way to accomplish non-confrontational communication with people on the far side of what activists call "the spectrum of allies," the spectrum of support or opposition, where people on the far side of the spectrum are actively oppositional to a cause and those on the near side are actively supportive, was strategic messaging (see Moore and Russell 2011:49).

Theo, who completed a Master's degree focused on climate communication the year after our interview, was studying how to talk about climate change in ways that appeal to audiences beyond leftists and progressives. He thought building broad support for climate justice was critical and depended on appealing to values:

> I think that threat has to be communicated more successfully to appeal to values of people who you know, I don't like the phrase mainstream, but sort of who are influenced by dominant culture. And I think if that vast group of people can be brought to understand, or at least ... to kind of see climate justice principles as legitimate and the sort of neoliberal solutions as illegitimate, that's when the climate movement starts winning. I think the only way to win is with a climate movement that is inclusive.

As Theo highlighted, communicating the threat of climate change, effectively framing climate change, is critical to inclusivity and accessibility, both key to winning. He argued that this, however, could be accomplished without saying "climate change." Instead, one could talk about the drought in the Midwest, or extractive industries poisoning water and food—CAIA, for example, talks about property. Communicating these messages and creating interactions that enabled effective communication, interviewees argued, was best

accomplished through one on one face-to-face conversations—through relationships, as described above.

After communicating the threat, Theo stressed the importance of communicating alternatives to the present system, of imagining a different future. Kelley (2002) and Pellow (2014) eloquently argue for the importance of visioning. For many interviewees, a better world is an inclusive world that values difference and recognizes interconnections. To begin realizing this type of future, interviewees prioritized creating intersectional movements grounded in individual recognition of how the intersections of identities inform experiences of privilege and oppression.

Intersectionality

Youth climate justice activists are acknowledging and embracing difference, exploring intersectionality, in sophisticated ways. First introduced by Crenshaw (1989), intersectionality is the recognition that multiple identities intersect to inform individual's lived experience of oppression and privilege. Activists recognize intersectionality on the individual and movement level, working to recognize how all of their issues and movements intersect and are rooted in the same structures of inequality (see Figure 17).

Figure 17. UCSB climate justice activists march in the May Day Parade in Santa Barbara, May 1, 2014. Some hold a "System Change Not Climate Change" banner; others hold LED signs that say "Stop SB Gang Injunction" an injunction targeting Latinx youth. Immigration reform was another focus of the march.

Take, for example, the California Student Sustainability Coalition's (2014) statement in solidarity with Ferguson below. Interviewees Emily Williams and Unique Vance were among the co-authors.

> As a network of California youth working actively on sustainability and climate action, we recognize and affirm that our struggle and liberation is indelibly bound to the liberation of others. We cannot have climate justice or a sustainable planet without racial justice. Even further, our planet cannot be sustainable without an economy that reflects equity, without an ecology that reflects respect for all beings. Our movements must be intersectional because our lives are, our very identities are. As students we are fighting to escape undue debt and tuition hikes, fighting for a stable and livable climate, and fighting to transition away from an extractive economy. The injustices that Ferguson faces today are rooted in the same injustices that we fight here in California. Though we all feel their impacts differently, we have a moral duty to highlight these impacts and those who are the most vulnerable if we

> are to find justice. Most importantly, we need to recognize that we are part of the same struggle. If we want freedom from the fossil fuel industry, if we want freedom from tuition hikes, then we must also have freedom from oppression and racial injustice.
>
> CSSC must stand with Ferguson in order to – together – resist these injustices and to – together – build the future we want and need to see. We also recognize that we are part of a larger community that holds a LOT of privilege, and although our membership and leadership is by no means monolithic, the very point of entry (a university or college) is from a place of privilege. Our struggles may or may not be the same but we are bound nonetheless. (CSSC 2014)

While interviewees' grasp of intersectionality varied, all recognized the importance of connecting social issues to environmental and climate issues and the shared roots of all types of injustice. Simultaneously recognizing how struggles are "bound" yet distinct makes possible broad coalitions that bring together people who care about different issues, not to erase difference, but to show how different struggles can all be improved by working together toward common goals. CSSC's statement not only recognizes the need for solidarity among movements fighting all types of injustice, but importantly, the privileged position of college student organizers.

Activists' awareness of their own privilege emerged in the course of interviews. For Nia Mitchell and Unique Vance, both self-identified women of color and chair and former chair of EAB's Environmental Justice working group (among many other activist roles), their privilege as Americans was important. Privilege informed Unique's analysis of the crisis and motivated Nia's activism. Nia's family came to the United States from Cuba. With the privilege she enjoyed having been born with U.S. citizenship, as compared to some of her family who still resided in Cuba, Nia felt a strong sense of duty to "give [herself] to the movement." She explained:

> I have to feel like what I'm doing is helping someone, whether that's the advancement of the community that I come from, or just like, the global majority in general ... I think that's why I do it ... I learn way too much sad shit on a day-to-day basis not to act, and not to be proactive, and not to constantly dismantle ... it's just in my blood, I really feel like it's ... the whole reason I'm here, almost is to like help change something you know and commit my life to struggle in that way, because I'm lucky enough to, because I don't have to live how [the people affected by] what I'm learning about live, you know what I mean?

Interviewees who identified as white men were also self-aware of their privilege and recognized how it could be used strategically for organizing. Theo felt the divestment campaign was where he could use his privilege as a college student most successfully. As a student, he had a stake in and ability to influence where university endowments, a primary target of the divestment movement, are invested. Arlo, a member of 350 Santa Barbara who helped spearhead the Measure P campaign at UCSB, struggled with feelings of guilt about his privilege as an educated white man, and over how this could inform his actions. He saw potential to leverage his privilege to spread the movement's message. In his words:

> There is so much privilege and like history that I am benefitting from and it's really hard not to let the guilt from that like overwhelm me and cause this sense of shame ... I feel that I really need to be talking to some folks who might not listen to others or who might ... really be tuning out this climate change thing, but you know, seeing this unfortunately young white male who just graduated college, they might be more receptive to hearing that.

Another way awareness of privilege manifested among white men was in their commitment to feminist values of gender equality and recognition of intersectionality. Two of these interviewees mentioned that they had taken on the responsibility to explain the significance of feminism to their non-activist male friends. When I asked Kai about whether he had friends involved in activism, he said many of his friends were not activists. He recounted the following conversation:

> We were discussing if feminism is necessary, if we need feminism, and I was like, "Oh my God yes, like why, what!?!" and we had this whole long conversation and like we didn't really get anywhere, we were just going back and forth, but then a couple days later he [Kai's friend] texted me and he was like, "You know, I've been thinking about what we talked about and I think I understand now what you were saying about like the privilege of being a man and how women are oppressed," and I was like whoa! ... I was a little bit shocked too because he is more on the conservative end.

Kai, an ecology major, had learned about feminism and intersectionality from student leaders of his environmental group. His social media feed, coming from his many "socially conscious Facebook friends," and online articles, also shaped his understanding of these concepts.

Exploring privilege and inequality allowed interviewees to begin to craft themselves and their organizations in ways that challenged stereotypes and empowered participation from all group members. Michael Fanelli, whose words opens this chapter, reflected:

> The people that are educated enough and invested enough to become involved in this sort of thing [activism] are people that you know, are aware of these [inequalities and stereotypes] ... I don't know how to describe it ... people aren't close minded, people understand that ... [stereotypes] aren't like legitimate things and that they're just based on, you know, old traditions.

As this excerpt illustrates, activists identified problems with traditions, practices, and perspectives of dominant culture. Making change begins with identifying problems and then moves to creating alternatives. Thus, understanding privilege and inequality had to do with activists' work to identify the barriers to the world they wanted to see. Just as activists worked to prioritize intersectional understanding of themselves and movements, by recognizing privilege, so too they strove to prioritize community by recognizing the factors that discouraged it.

Community

Calling in to conversations and relationships across difference meant overcoming a culture of not talking to people with different perspectives, a culture of division and "anti-community." Rob was very concerned with lack of communication in U.S. culture. When I asked him what he hoped for the future, his response paralleled the organizing practice of agreeing to disagree employed by activists in southwest Idaho:

> I hope for a reversal of I feel like the current trend of anti-community and like anti-talking to one another ... I feel like we used to be able to, I mean like before we had ways to communicate like so easily with people that were like-minded with us ... we had our community and like our neighbors and our mailman and stuff and they were there and you were forced to talk to them 'cause they were the only people around and if you disagreed with them ... you respected them ... you knew that they were there to talk to and hopefully you could still count on them even if you disagreed with them um, but ... we now have [ways] to like not talk to people really, or to have our niche groups to where we don't have to talk to people that don't agree with us.

Rob went on to apply this observation to his own experience of organizing, where he noticed a lack of student receptivity to discussing campaigns with strangers.

> We think that people like coming up to us in the Arbor [popular tabling and lunch location at UCSB] and asking them if like they know anything about a campaign is weird ... and we think somebody calling us to talk about a campaign is weird, and I think that's really detrimental to any organizing, if we can't talk to strangers and like feel that people are in a community trying to make things better and listen to one another.

Other interviewees had also experienced "anti-talking to one another" in their organizing. Timmy Jacobs, involved in multiple organizations, explained how people "don't really take well to random, to all the groups that try to talk to them on campus." While reflecting on the unusual communication experience that was our interview, Sarah, who also organized with many groups, lamented: "especially nowadays, everything being texting and Facebook on the computer, like it's awkward for people to call each other, which is sad."

For two activists with 350 Santa Barbara, this dearth of community communication manifested in divisions between Santa Barbara's environmental and Latinx communities. Arlo thought Measure P's failure to garner Latinx support was "one symptom of this system that really divides us up as much as possible and makes sure we're not talking to each other, ... that has set things up so that we are not supposed to be talking to our neighbors who may not look like us, that are dealing with the same things that we are."[148] When phone banking for the 2014 Measure P campaign, Alex Favacho talked to people on both sides of the political divide in Santa Barbara County: "some phone calls could be actually really nice, someone's like, 'Oh yeah yeah of course I'm going to vote for that,' and others are like, 'I own guns and stuff like that, stay off my property.'" This divide was informed by the longtime presence of the oil industry in northern Santa Barbara County, a characteristic that created a sharp contrast in livelihoods and politics, with more oil jobs and conservative political representatives in North County and more tourist sector jobs and liberal politics in the beach towns of southern Santa Barbara County (see chapter eight for more on this divide). Political sorting like this is increasingly common in the United States. As Bishop (2008) explains, "In 1976, less than a quarter of Americans lived in places where the presidential election was a landslide. By 2004, nearly half of all voters lived in landslide counties" (6). Living in a landslide county means people have less experience communicating with people with different views. This lack of experience likely contributes to the "toxic" state of discourse in American politics summarized in the title of co-founder of DeSmogBlog (a popular site for climate justice news) James Hoggan's (2016) book: *I'm Right and You're an Idiot: The Toxic State of Public Discourse and How to Clean it Up*.

[148] See chapter seven for how dividing communities is part of the oil industry's playbook.

Talking across these divides in Santa Barbara County, as in Idaho, is no easy feat, however. It can be quite frustrating, interviewee Maria Castro explained, because again, facts alone often do not change deeply held beliefs that can be rooted in participation in certain occupations, like the oil industry. As Kori Lay, a former leader in EAB said, "people don't want to think they are wrong." Besides challenging viewpoints, just getting people to listen was also a challenge. Though Michael felt that facts *do* speak for themselves, "[when you] are able to rationally explain these things, there's not much convincing that needs to be done," he prefaced his belief with, "when someone is actually willing to listen to you." Interviewees, however, thought young people on college campuses were more receptive to learning than the general population. "Campus is a really great place ... because I think people are more likely to change their opinions on campus, because they are students there and they're there to learn" (Kori Lay).

To address these problems, interviewees thought that the culture of communication and community involvement needed to change. Non-communication, lack of listening, and refusal to consider new information were all commonplace in the lived experience of their activism. There was a general desire for a lifestyle where people talk to people they disagree with. For Rob, this would be a lifestyle of:

> Not like de-friending somebody on Facebook immediately because they have a different view than you, of not avoiding somebody you see on the sidewalk because you know they are going to ask you about how you are voting ... to be more engaging with people.... I guess what I hope for the future is a more community-oriented society that people will feel more empowered to work for what they believe in, which I think will create more environmental good.

Like Rob, Emily advocated for changing culture, but highlighted activist culture. She hoped activists could be more inclusive, especially of frontline communities—communities most

affected by climate change and fossil fuel extraction, and could focus on campaigns that targeted cultural change:

> I hope ... we, as organizers ... can get over the super activist identity that excludes or belittles anyone who doesn't fit to that picture and start really talking to each other ... and really, really talking with frontline communities about what are very specific campaigns that are winnable, whose focus is in changing culture ... it's a way more powerful intervention point in the system, rather than just changing a law.

Making these cultural changes toward community within and beyond activist groups was a priority for all interviewees. They prioritized relationships, accessibility, and intersectionality to build community.

Putting Values into Practice

Activists' values translate directly into and are informed by movement-building practices. Relational organizing and calling in are both values *and* concrete ways to build movements that center relationships, accessibility, intersectionality, and community. They occur in the context of other practices and participatory democratic forms of organizational structure that are horizontal (see Figure 18).

Figure 18. Student coalition meets to organize signature gathering for initiative that became Measure P, April 2014.

The majority of groups interviewees organized with have broad leadership structures. Environmental Affairs Board (EAB), for example, had twenty-one officers with two co-chairs in the 2015/2016 school year. Students Against Fracking began with three co-chairs, but rotated facilitators during meetings, using consensus decision-making to organize campaigns. During this research, 350 Santa Barbara had no leadership structure or positions. These horizontal leadership forms are one way groups tried to empower leadership from diverse members.

While groups are open to all, success in attracting diverse membership was mixed. Interviewees were aware that many of the small environmental groups tended to be made up

primarily of white, heterosexual, gender-normative students. To them, this illustrated a lack of diversity. They were conscious that they had much work to do to realize the values at the heart of their organizing. However, they also highlighted the diversity of perspectives, majors, and backgrounds within these groups' membership and noted that certain groups were striving for progress on diversity and inclusivity through values highlighted above. In particular, interviewees gave EAB good marks on diversity. Over half of the officers of EAB during 2014-2015 and 2015-2016 were students of color. This matched the proportion of students of color at a forty-person EAB general meeting I attended in spring 2016.

At the interactional level, activists developed organizing structures to support inclusivity and learning about inequality and privilege. Interviewee Elie Katzenson, who had organized with multiple groups, recounted how, to be inclusive of gender diversity, organizations like EAB and 350 Santa Barbara sometimes asked each participant to tell the group their preferred gender pronoun, typically they/them, she/her, or he/him, during introductions. Emily Williams really liked "the culture of just naming things as they come up, so saying when something is sexist, saying when something is racist, just calling it right out especially in organizing space, having more workshops on anti-oppression or actually discussing what diversity means." A different approach to this practice, as introduced earlier in the analysis, is "calling in," which is also expressed with the phrase "ouch, oops." "Ouch, oops" was, like calling in, a norm Max Golding first introduced me to where, if someone says something offensive, people feeling the offense should say "ouch" to signal the hurt it caused them. The person who said the offensive thing would then recognize their mistake, "oops," and change their behavior in the future. It was a less confrontational—more relational—way to teach each other about inclusive language than "calling out." In Unique

Vance's view, calling out was not only more abrasive, but also less effective than explaining why people's positions are problematic. Along these lines, Unique cautioned against "playing the Oppression Olympics." She thought it was important to take into account all of the different sectors of people's lives to recognize different forms of privilege and oppression, and most importantly, how they all connect with capitalism, how different groups of people share many of the same experiences. Insights like these helped student organizers develop their own diversity trainings and organize statewide convergences to spread good organizing practices within the movement. These practices were bolstered by their commitment to relational organizing, which, in Emily Williams's words,

> goes back to ... actually spending a lot of time talking to people who might be perpetuating some of the oppression that we see in organizing circles and finding out why they are doing it, what experiences have they come through that's told them that that's okay, and recognizing that that's not them as a person, that's how society has molded them. And working with them that way to show that you still trust them, you still respect to them, you still care for them, but yeah it's, we all need to work on getting better.

Interviewees also felt groups could improve their outreach to diverse students by clarifying the connections between social and environmental issues. For some, like Unique, capitalism was a clear way to do this: "Climate justice is when you tackle the root causes of climate change, which is capitalism, you know bases of exploitation ... so you attack the root of the issue." However, not all interviewees or groups were attuned to anti-capitalist critique. According to interviewees, Fossil Free and CSSC were doing good work to connect environmental/climate and social justice. They were not challenging capitalism, but were challenging its most damaging qualities, for example, profit without conscience and externalities, in the case of the divestment movement.

In contrast, Kori Lay felt that EAB, despite the diversity of its participants, still had a long way to go to clarify these social and environmental justice connections, explaining:

> Outside of that [diversity training for EAB officers] ... I don't think it's [social justice] addressed as much ... multicultural groups on campus still kind of look at us [EAB] and think of us as like a white person club, because of the environmental movement, the way it is still, and also just because I think we are still kind of portrayed as like, we're just trying to save the trees, like we don't have the right face on yet, so I think we're still not as inviting as we should be and I think that's partially because we don't talk about social issues enough in the club, we do have an environmental justice chair, which I think is a good position to have because it does show that we do care about those things and that's something that we have like campaigns on and things like that, but I think it's still not loud enough in the club.

Kori had worked to facilitate CSSC's transition to focus more on social justice when she was lead organizer of the yearly CSSC convergence. She told convergence panel organizers that at the most, only a third of the panels could be purely environmental focused. She invited a keynote speaker who told attendees: "Hey, you know what, right now we are on Native American lands that we took away from them" (Kori Lay). Kori recounted, "like straight out of the door, that's what she said and [you] saw the room was just kind of in shock, kind of taken aback, which is what I wanted, I wanted people to hear and then talk and be uncomfortable about it ... I really wanted people to have hard conversations."

Fossil Free had taken up social justice explicitly by linking their campaign for fossil fuel divestment with frontline communities—communities directly experiencing the effects of fossil fuel extraction. Theo explained that figuring out how to communicate the social justice aspects of their campaign, and how Fossil Free is a solidarity campaign, could strengthen their message. He went on to lament the general separation of environmental and social issues, arguing for the need to clarify intersectionalities: "on UCSB's campus ... it is so ingrained ... the idea that the environment is separate from other justice organizations, and

that's something that different organizations need to work on and sort of see the intersectionalities of them" (Theo Lequesne).

Horizontal structures, efforts to be inclusive and attract diverse membership through meeting practices and campaigns focused on social-environmental intersections, and relationship-based organizing characterized interviewees' activist groups. Activists' values both facilitate and are embodied in these practices. These values and practices undergird the climate justice culture of creation at the heart of movement building.

DISCUSSION

Foran (2014) posits that idioms, ideology, networks, lived experiences, and emotions can sometimes come together to form political cultures of creation capable of mobilizing revolution. I extend this concept by demonstrating that values are foundational to the "climate justice culture of creation" (CJCOC) of youth in Santa Barbara County and that this CJCOC facilitates building of a movement and culture capable of just responses to climate change. Youth activists were drawing on idioms like climate justice, ideologies such as feminism, and their lived experience as college students coming of age during climate crisis. They were constructing networks grounded in friendship, and recognizing the importance of passion and joy for building movements. All of these elements are expressed in particular and localized ways in the values they share— relationships, accessibility, intersectionality, and community.

These values are the substance of the CJCOC that characterizes Santa Barbara-based youth elements of the climate justice "social movement community" (Buechler 1990;

Staggenborg 2013; Taylor and Whittier 1992). It is through these values that interviewees understood and sculpted what climate justice as a frame, or climate justice activist as a collective identity, meant on the ground. Values shaped how interviewees built networks and how they understood the role of emotions in their organizing. All of these factors informed the tactics, strategies, and campaigns they employed. The values of community and relationships, for example, motivated youth to table on campus and approach strangers to talk about politics in their community. These inspired them to communicate the passion they felt for their work and to "show up" at each other's events. Valuing intersectionality and privilege led students to recognize their leverage in the divestment movement and informed why they prioritized not only divesting, but also reinvesting in the communities most affected by energy extraction. Interviewees thought that realizing their values in strong egalitarian relationships and broad-based community through movement building was key to achieving climate justice. In sum, I argue that youth's values—when situated at the heart of the political cultures of creation framework that recognizes the reciprocal and generative interactions among experience, emotions, networks, and ideas—enhance understanding of how and why they engage in movement building.

Interviewees believe that movement building is key to mobilizing enough people power to affect broad policy and cultural change. It is also key to nurturing and sustaining skilled organizers. Interviewees were learning how to be leaders and hone their organizing skills through movement building. They were teaching each other about privilege and oppression and developing methods to create safe and respectful spaces in which to have hard conversations. They were practicing how to communicate at a depth that makes relationships possible and strong enough to not only withstand, but also grow from different

perspectives. They were understanding and connecting political, economic, and cultural spheres of life in order to present alternatives. These experiences build the "developmental benefits" (Polletta 2002) and "activist capital" (Van Dyke and Dixon 2013) necessary to empower individuals for lifelong activism.

Interviewees not only espoused values and developed practices and skills. They also saw success in their movement-building efforts—in how they realized their values. Successes came in the form of Kai's friend understanding the importance of feminism, or the people on Rob's dormitory hall supporting Rob on the night of the election when the ballot measure he had worked so hard on failed: "Even the ones that disagreed with me were very [nice and sorry for me], [laughs][...] they knew how much I hadn't been on the floor [of the dorm] because I had been working on Measure P" (Rob Holland). Rob, in other words, had built community among people who did not agree with his politics, creating connections that could pave the way for future expansion of the movement. Fossil Free UCSB went from struggling to retain members to having ten core organizers. It also, along the statewide Fossil Free coalition, experienced major successes when the University of California divested from coal and tar sands in 2015 and when UCSB's Chancellor became the first UC Chancellor to support divestment, following a Fossil Free UCSB sit in in May 2017.

Though interviewees were facing the end of the world, and, as with any crisis, had up and down days, the majority had positive outlooks. They felt obliged, inspired, and determined to take their knowledge and privilege, share it with others, and work to create communities to challenge the status quo and envision a different future. As Nia Mitchell explained, "activists are some of the most positive people I've ever met, 'cause it means we think we can change something." Through values that enabled them to call each other in to

relationships and build accessible, inclusive, and intersectional movement communities, they were building a climate justice culture of creation one social interaction, group norm, and campaign at a time.

CONCLUSION

"Knowing the colour of the sky is far more important than counting clouds."

– Robin Kelley (2002:11)

In this chapter, I've argued for understanding movement building as a process of expressing and practicing values which compose a "political culture of creation" (PCOC) (Foran 2014), a culture focused on vision, rather than only obstacles—the sky, rather than the clouds. PCOCs are the "webs of meaning" (Geertz 1973) that members of a social movement shape and live within. Foran (2014) argues that they are constituted by the interactions of ideologies, idioms, networks, emotions, and lived experience. I demonstrate that values and practices, activist's own theories, are also important—that each element of a political culture of creation is expressed on the ground through values and practices. I propose "climate justice culture of creation" to characterize the PCOC growing in the climate justice movement and show that activists employ this culture to build a broad-based climate justice movement—a movement seeking revolution in capitalist culture's emphasis on individual material gain without concern for other humans, living things, and the planet. The climate justice culture of creation is also beneficial for building a culture and society that lives more sustainably in interaction with the environment.

The youth activists in this movement in Santa Barbara are cooperating to form activist groups that have horizontal leadership structures and are intentionally anti-oppressive. They recognize the interconnections of social and environmental problems and how, no matter where they come from, who they identify as, and what issues they care most about, they must engage in shared struggle for their futures. They have discovered the power of relationships, accessibility, intersectionality, and community for learning, organizing, and effective campaigns. Taking this knowledge, they are calling each other to the table to embrace their difference, simultaneously check and lever their privilege, and learn from each other through listening, care, and patience. The resulting relationships allow them to mobilize resources, passions, and energy to imagine and model the justice they want to see in the world. Step by step, they take action to change the political and cultural status quo for climate justice.

I now shift the analysis from looking at how activists work across lines based in individual beliefs, identities, and interests to how activists work across lines based on organizational form.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Lighting Your Hair on Fire: Tensions Between the Grassroots and Grasstops

> "The kind of change you're talking about—anything feasible within the current political system—really won't do us any good."
>
> – Tim DeChristopher, grassroots activist (quoted in Stephenson 2015:199)

> If the utility needs to think that they are going to build a gas plant in ten years in order to [shutter their coal plant], I'm not gonna like jump up and down and light my hair on fire, because I know I'm going to have like ten more bites at the apple to shut down that gas plant—but what I need today is the commitment to close coal.
>
> – Ben Otto, Idaho Conservation League Energy Associate

Movements for social change have long debated the utility of working within existing systems. They have struggled over whether to work for reform or revolution. Activists discuss this question within the groups that I worked with. One central characteristic that illuminates the divide over this question is that of organizational form—the type of organization an activist belongs to. In this chapter, I examine tensions between grassroots and grasstops organizations.

Grasstops organizations, as I use the term, are nonprofit organizations that are structured in hierarchical ways in which a few people make decisions and direct volunteers to follow mission statements. They typically focus much energy on fundraising to support staff and, in some cases, have dues paying members. In my research, activists who work for

grasstops organizations are much more pragmatic[149] than grassroots activists. As employees of longstanding organizations with donors, mission statements, and legacies, they tend to be more invested in status quo organizing. This type of organizing stresses how much there is to lose, emphasizes incremental legal and regulatory change, and depends on having a seat at the table with decision makers and industry. It is wedded to the current system, capitalism, and does not typically look beyond this system to imagine a post-capitalist world. The grassroots volunteer activists within these same communities tend not to feel adequately supported by these larger, better-resourced organizations—a common experience of environmental justice activists (Cable, Mix, and Hastings 2005). In fact, they often feel excluded and isolated. More of them are working to imagine and enact what Rosewarne, Goodman, and Pearse (2014) call a "realistic politics of climate change, one that meets the challenge of climate science in ways that cannot be dismissed" (6). This surprising divide, even among people who all consider themselves environmentalists or activists, resonates with Smith's thesis: "just as we must not presume that we cannot work with unlikely allies, we must not presume that we should always work with people who are perceived to be our likely allies" (2008:200).

This chapter analyzes the relationship between the grassroots and grasstops of the climate justice movement in Santa Barbara and Idaho. The climate justice movement works

[149] Rosewarne, Goodman, and Pearse (2014) argue that the climate crisis has upended notions of radicalism and pragmatism. Using the terms "climate radicals" and "climate pragmatists" to differentiate between what I call grassroots and grasstops activists, they suggest that climate radicals "pragmatically apprehend the challenge and seek to produce responses that have a realistic chance of delivering climate stability. Climate pragmatists also accept the climate science, but fail to calibrate their response to the challenge this poses" (5). In their view, pragmatism as usual "has become an impossible demand" (5). I align with their view, but use "pragmatism" in the way that it is typically understood—to refer to what is deemed practical within capitalism.

to achieve the twin goals of social justice and a livable world, recognizing that one cannot be achieved without the other. It is more explicitly justice oriented than the environmental movement and more globally oriented—because of the global scale of climate change—than the environmental justice movement. What people view as possible, the level of trust required to work together, and how people perceive different messages and strategies are some of the primary tensions between these grassroots and grasstops sectors of this movement. Members of grasstops organizations tend to take actions *because* they are feasible within the current policies system. Ben Otto, in the excerpt above, for example, does what he thinks is politically feasible—accepting plans for a natural gas power plant in order to close a coal plant. This is much different from climate justice campaigns to keep *all* fossil fuels in the ground. Actions like Ben's are actions that DeChristopher and other grassroots activists, see as "not doing us any good." While there are examples of grassroots and grasstops working together, from the perspectives of activists in both sectors, these collaborations can prove more draining than beneficial. If the movement is to talk and work across lines, the dividing lines between grassroots and grasstops must be more permeable. A broad-based and powerful movement requires nothing less.

My writing in this chapter is informed by my standpoint as a grassroots activist. Much of the motivation for this research, and the social capital that made it possible, is based in my relationship with grassroots activists and organizations. Combined with my biography, these relationships make me an optimist about people's capacity to work together and someone who believes that achieving climate justice requires a radically different form of social organization. I do not see my vision of "success" within capitalism. In line with Rosewarne, Goodman, and Pearse (2014), I do not think capitalism is "pragmatic" in light of

climate science. I also, however, recognize that legislative and political wins today, within established systems, can decrease pollution, protect communities, and award reparations to those who are suffering. I know from experience that personal environmental and social justice actions can serve as springboards for individuals to join and make efforts for systematic change. These daily actions can be small wins and progress to nourish the soul along a difficult and bleak road of system change. In sum, I acknowledge that individuals have overlapping and contradictory layers of change-making beliefs and think most people who join or work for a grassroots or grasstops organization have good intentions. Activists' dreams, choices, and reasoning are more complex than the binary characterization grassroots/tops suggests. I make this distinction to highlight points of divergence. Understanding these points as roots of tension, will, I hope, enable activists on both sides to transform these tensions from break points between their organizations, to bridges.

CONTEXT

The communities where I conducted research vary widely in terms of prevalence and strength of nonprofit, or grasstops, organizations. Before diving into the analysis, I therefore provide a snapshot of these characteristics, introduce the nonprofit organizations with which interviewees worked, and consider how this study relates to recent work on grassroots/tops divides.

According to the National Center for Charitable Statistics, Santa Barbara County had 809 nonprofits and sixty-eight environmental nonprofits in 2013. There were 20.12 organizations per 10,000 persons and 1.69 environmental organizations per 10,000 persons.

The *city* of Santa Barbara had forty-two of those environmental nonprofits in 2013, 4.56 per 10,000 persons. This demonstrates just how concentrated environmentalism is in southern Santa Barbara County. When looking at all nonprofits, organizations dedicated to any issue, the number for the city of Santa Barbara jumps to 473 organizations, 51.30 per 10,000 persons, with per capita expenses of $23,781—highlighting the wealth dedicated to philanthropy in the community. In 2000, 39.60 percent of households with people over twenty-five years old had college degrees.

Idaho field sites vary tremendously in nonprofit concentration. The city of Boise, which houses the offices of the largest environmental groups in the state, had thirty-six environmental organizations, 1.94 organizations per 10,000 persons, in 2013. They had $106 per capita expenses. Payette County, where all natural gas production was occurring as of 2017, just one hour west of Boise, had zero environmental organizations. In the City of Fruitland, where forced pooling within Payette County is concentrated, only 8.23 percent of households with people over 25 have a college degree (in 2000). In contrast, the city of Sandpoint, Idaho, where oil trains bottleneck on their way to the west coast, had four environmental organizations, which comes out to 5.79 per 10,000 persons. Their expenses were $80 per capita. When considering all nonprofit organizations, the city of Sandpoint has 46! This means there are 66.54 organizations per 10,000 persons with per capita expenses of $9,250. The percent of households over twenty-five years old with a college degree was 23.38 in 2000. This, as in Santa Barbara, illustrates a high level of social and financial capital in the area, and according to interviewees, is tied to both cities' quality as a destination for retirees. These are the contexts of the grassroots/grasstops tensions that I examine in this chapter.

Eleven California interviewees and thirteen Idaho interviewees had worked or currently worked as paid staff for a nonprofit or political organization.[150] This chapter draws on these interviews and interviews with people who were not paid staff of organizations. Interviews with these twenty-four paid individuals ranged from half an hour to over two hours with an average of seventy-one minutes. See the tables below for a break down of the number of interviewees per organization. These tables are based on interviewee employment status at time of interview.

Table 9. Organizations that Idaho Interviewees Had Worked for as Paid Staff

Organizations	**Number of Interviewees**
Idaho Sierra Club	1
Idaho Conservation League	
Boise office	2
Sandpoint office	1
Snake River Alliance	1
Conservation Voters for Idaho	1
Advocates for the West	1
Lake Pend Oreille Water Keeper	1
Model Forest Policy Program	1
Friends of the Clearwater	3
Friends of the Earth (past employee)	1
Total	**13**

[150] In the following paragraphs, I only mention the names of interviewees who agreed to use their full real names.

Table 10. Organizations that California Interviewees Had Worked for as Paid Staff

Organizations	Number of Interviewees
Environmental Defense Center	1
Community Environmental Council (past employee)	1
Democratic Party of Santa Barbara	1
Democratic campaigns/candidates (past employees)	2
California Student Sustainability Coalition (current & past employees)	3
Central Coast United for a Sustainable Economy (CAUSE)	1
Center on Race Poverty and The Environment	1
Food and Water Watch	1
Total	**11**

In both settings, I interviewed current, past, and future employees of what community members considered the "big greens" or "old guard enviros"—what I call grasstops organizations throughout this chapter. In Idaho, the grasstops are the Sierra Club, Idaho Conservation League (ICL), and Snake River Alliance. These statewide organizations engage with state policymakers in Boise, Idaho who are responsible for all natural gas policy in Idaho. I interviewed two ICL Boise employees, Justin Hayes and Ben Otto, and one former ICL Boise employee who had just been hired by Conservation Voters for Idaho, Courtney Washburn.

In Sandpoint, Idaho, ICL and Water Keeper, a national organization, both have offices. I interviewed representatives from both organizations—Susan Drumheller, North Idaho Associate for Idaho Conservation League, and Shannon Williamson, Executive Director of Lake Pend Oreille Water Keeper. With the megaloads struggle (see chapter eight), the central nonprofit group that was involved, beyond legal organizations including Idaho Rivers United and Advocates for the West, was Friends of the Clearwater, located in Moscow, Idaho. I interviewed three of their staff—including Gary Macfarlane and Brett

Haverstick. I also interviewed Natalie Havlina, an attorney who had worked for Advocates of the West on the megaloads campaign.

In Santa Barbara, I interviewed a representative of the Environmental Defense Center, and former Executive Director of the Community Environmental Council, Dave Davis. These were the groups that 350 Santa Barbara interviewees most often referred to as the "old guard enviros" of Santa Barbara. I also interviewed Daraka Larimore-Hall, Chair of the Democratic Party of Santa Barbara. Becca Claassen, a lead figure in Measure P, transitioned in the course of this research from being a full-time volunteer to being a full-time staff member of Food and Water Watch (FWW). She left the organization, however, in 2017, largely because of her disagreement with how FWW engaged with grassroots environmental justice organizations in California. Among youth interviewees, two were employed by political campaigns and several by the California Student Sustainability Coalition (CSSC). Stanley Tzankov was District Representative for State Senator Hannah-Beth Jackson, who endorsed Measure P. Emily Williams and Kyle Fischler both worked for CSSC.

The vast majority of interviewees, however, were volunteer members of grassroots organizations. Though these organizations are sometimes nonprofits, I differentiate them from grasstops organizations because they tend to be younger, typically do not have dues paying members, and have fluid leadership structures. For these reasons, they are less concerned, or not at all concerned, with convincing boards, raising money, and following mission statements—all aspects of nonprofits that interviewees critiqued. Many of these interviewees are involved in multiple organizations and sometimes sit on the board of the big

green groups. This chapter simultaneously draws on interviews from individuals engaged with each type of organizations in Idaho and California.

Like Cable, Mix, and Hastings (2005), I highlight the perspectives of grassroots activists in grassroots/tops coalitions. Unlike these authors, I hold out hope for the possibility of collaboration between what they call "professional environmentalists" and the grassroots.[151] I find that despite their differences and critiques of each other's strategies and tactics, members of each organization type recognize the importance of working together, working across lines of grassroots and grasstops. Cable, Mix, and Hastings (2005) focus on the environmental justice movement, arguing that class and race divides account for tensions between grassroots environmental justice activists and professional environmentalists. While most activists in my research do not fit squarely into what these authors consider the environmental justice movement, or the anti-toxics movement, neither are they "professional environmentalists." That interviewees do not fit into these three categories of the environmental movement that Cable, Mix and Hastings (2005) describe raises questions about how the environmental movement has changed in the last ten years. My research illustrates how climate change and the increase in and geographical dispersal of extreme energy extraction have altered the terrain of the movement. As Klein (2014) argues, a dispersed mobilization of unlikely collaborators, what she calls "blockadia," has emerged. Therefore, the stark inequalities in race and class that Cable, Mix, and Hastings (2005)

[151] The race and class divides and history of tensions among Cable, Mix, and Hastings's (2005) research participants informs their pessimistic conclusion about the capacity of grassroots and grasstops collaboration. My research participants do not have the same level of race and class divisions or tense histories. My research also engages in a different conversation with Cable, Mix, and Hastings (2005), in that I demonstrate that even without racial and class divides, there can be tensions between the grassroots and grasstops.

identify as blocks to grassroots and big green collaboration are changing in some areas. Sacrifice zones are more likely than ever to be located near educated, middle class, and white communities—the homes of many environmental professionals. For the most part, my research analyzes grassroots/tops collaborations among people with similar race and class locations. Race and class therefore inform, but do not explain the tensions they experience.[152]

The analysis in this chapter contains two main sections. The first outlines the core divide among these sectors of the movement—the value they place on pragmatism. The second describes ways people try to overcome this divide.

PRAGMATISM

Like so many ideas in the realm of resistance to extreme energy extraction that I write about—e.g. political labels (see chapter five), success (see later in this chapter)—activists contest the meaning of pragmatism.

Organizational Form

The organizational form within which activists work informs their understanding of what is practical, and what is not. Organizations with paid staff are constrained by the need to fundraise. This need puts them in direct competition with other organizations in the community. To differentiate themselves in the hopes of winning over supporters, they create narrow mission statements and then, because of the organizational weight that depends on

[152] For analysis of collaboration among grassroots activists who do have different racial and ethnic identities, see chapter eight.

securing funding and the approval of the board, feel compelled to follow those. They operate in "silos" (Kelsey). Becca Claassen has had experience with a variety of organizational forms and coalitions. She co-founded 350 Santa Barbara as a horizontal grassroots group, then partnered with Santa Barbara's old guard environmental organizations and the Santa Barbara Democratic Party, and finally, worked for Food and Water Watch, a national organization. She summarized the tensions that result from organizational forms:

> There's something called the nonprofit industrial complex ... this phenomenon where you have nonprofits who are obligated to do fundraising in order to fund their work.... [T]o prove to donors that they are being successful, they often have to have very incremental small goals, narrow missions—and [they] don't like to stray from that ... it creates this disadvantage for people who want to create change. A, [nonprofits] can't get political unless they have a C4 component[153], which very few nonprofits do, and then B, it kind of puts them at odds with other organizations, like highly competitive.

In the context of Santa Barbara, where so many nonprofits were competing for the same donor base, it was difficult to break out of these conventions. In her next sentence, Becca estimated the number of nonprofits in Santa Barbara at 1200. While inflated, this number demonstrates how salient competition is in Becca's assessment of the organizing climate.

According to interviewee Ben Otto, Energy Associate at Idaho Conservation League (ICL), a challenge for this member- and dues-dependent organizational form is that fewer

[153] C4 refers to the nonprofit tax designation 501(c)(4). This is a designation for nonprofits that can engage in political and legislative activities. Its downside is that donations made to a 501(c)(4)s are not tax deductible for the donor. A 501(c)(3) organization, in contrast, can receive tax deductible donations, but can only engage in charitable work—activities like education and defending civil rights. Being able to deduct donations from federal taxes is attractive for large donors.

and fewer young adults are "joining" organizations.[154] Ben saw this as one explanation for the older demographics of ICL's members. As Ben explained,

> So the classic environmental group membership is people 50, 60, 70 years old ... they kind of let us do our own thing and if they like one issue, they are gonna become members of the whole organization and support everything. And they will ... write a letter to the editor, that kind of thing. And that's good ... but how do we attract younger folks who ... are not joiners of a group writ large? In my impression, they tend to be more motivated by individual issues ... they're not going to be a member of the organization giving us thirty bucks a month, but if we find an issue they are really fired up about, then they'll ... get super involved, and be very sophisticated about it, turn out their friends .... But it's a very different kind of care and feeding of your membership depending on where they are in age.

Thus, understanding how to attract people through issues, rather than through a mission or member identity, is particularly important if organizations are to gain long-term support from younger generations. Grassroots activist Borg Hendrickson echoed Ben's assessment. She thought motivating people on the issues and focusing on those, rather than on organizations, is key for effective organizing. To accomplish her goals, she had formed a loose network, rather than an organization.

Being a paid staff member like Ben, however, can create distance between volunteers and oneself, challenging staff's ability to connect with volunteers. Becca Claassen, who had always motivated people by being a model organizer who did everything and said yes to everything, found that in her new role, when I interviewed her, as paid staff who supervises volunteers, she could no longer say yes to everything. This limited her ability to motivate others through example. Borg Hendrickson's reflections on effective communications supported this point about distance. Borg felt that formal organizations—she organized as an

[154] In VolunteerMatch, a blog to assist organizations with recruiting volunteers, the article "5 Ways to Attract Young People to Your Nonprofit" illustrates the widespread belief that attracting young people to organizations is a challenge (Pajaron 2010). The author echoes Ben Otto's idea that young people are more passionate about causes than organizations.

individual member of a network involving big greens and grassroots groups—were more constrained in their communication. They have "this little format to it [and] have to have board approval for everything." As a grassroots activist, she was personal in her communication to supporters and in return, people took the initiative to share important information with her. "My communications with people are me talking to you, so I think, that's part of why people felt so free to just 'Borg!, look at this!'—felt so free to just contact us one-on-one, with a quick phone call or email. I think because there's probably something about my emails that isn't quite the same as an organization's emails."

There was also a sense that the staff role could detract from the joy of organizing, both for the staff person and volunteers. Emily Williams worked for the California Sustainability Coalition, but decided that she ultimately wanted to do organizing on the side, rather than as a paid position. She did not like the power dynamics of paid organizing. Echoing Becca Claassen, she disliked that there was the "nonprofit industrial complex," where campaigns could be used as a selling point to funders. She also felt there was a "weird" power dynamic of being one of the few paid people working alongside volunteers. Ultimately, she concluded that there was a place for paid organizers, but that they should be "supporting or maintaining, but perhaps not leading, the fight." Kyle Fischler thought that making organizing a career would contribute to loss of "some of the draw and enjoyment you get out of it." Miranda O'Mahoney, who worked long hours as a volunteer on the Measure P campaign under supervision by paid staff, illustrated her own distance and lack of investment in the whole campaign with her reflection. She explained, "I don't think that we really reached them [the majority of Santa Barbara residents] very well, um, I don't know how we would have either, but *that's up to the paid organizers to think about* [small laugh]" (my

emphasis). Miranda, who was involved with multiple student groups, felt tired after the Measure P campaign, where she played the role of volunteer with little responsibility beyond assigned tasks. Her description of going door to door lacked luster when compared to her descriptions of the creative events she participated in with student groups. I asked Miranda if she had noticed a difference in organizing experiences with paid campaigners and grassroots organizers and explained how in the earlier grassroots-led phase of the Measure P campaign, which Miranda had not participated in, the campaign was more horizontal. "Before we [the Measure P campaign] had paid organizers," I said, "we [students] all felt important and valued, like we could be leaders in however capacity we wanted to be." Miranda "did not feel like that." I described my own alienation from the Measure P campaign after it became hierarchical, and how I preferred grassroots volunteering because "when everybody's a volunteer, everyone gives what they can and that's really awesome that they are giving anything." This resonated with Miranda, who replied, "That's kind of what I was trying to get at, like with everybody giving what they can ... *if you are doing what you are best at and you are giving that and you love it, then it's like the best situation*" (my emphasis). Hierarchical campaigns with pre-established strategies could forestall possibilities for volunteers doing what they loved.

Being a paid staff member also comes with a level of comfort that some grassroots activists yearn for and others critique for affecting one's capacity to be radical. On the comfort side, interviewees mentioned that they could not justify spending too much time organizing, "since it's not currently a paid gig" (Kyle Fischler). Helen Yost, who was

homeless during this research,[155] yet had pursued a PhD, illustrated both views. She had wanted to earn a living from being an organizer. Yet, since Friends of the Clearwater fired her, she had dedicated herself to the grassroots group Wild Idaho Rising Tide, whose supporters occasionally donated enough money to pay for an office where she could also live. Helen had become very critical of comfort:

> You sort of just got to throw reason out the window because reason has more or less been co-opted by government and industry and you just sort of have to follow your heart and say, "Well ... I don't know how I'm going to pay the rent.... I don't know if I will ever be able to talk people into doing hard-core activism." ... You just say, "Fuck it, I'm going to do this and I don't really care about anything beyond that"—which is also very freeing because I just sort of say fuck money, fuck a home, fuck prestige, what people think about me, any kind of normalcy.

Helen rejected most elements of comfort that comprise the average American and environmental professional lifestyle. As she explained, "I like to call America the place where you can have whatever you want, but nothing that you need because everything you need is being destroyed by what everybody wants." She was highly suspicious of the reasoning behind grasstop tactics and wished she could inspire more people to engage in direct action. As she said, why do anything reasonable if reason was coopted by government and industry?

This rejection of comfort resonated with Cass Davis's journey as an activist. Unlike Helen, Cass came from a working-class family in an Idaho sacrifice zone—the Silver Valley. In the 1970s in the Silver Valley, Bunker Hill lead smelter and zinc plant decided to pay fines rather than fix their pollution control system, which had been damaged in a fire. In the years following the fire, local children's lead levels averaged 50 micrograms of lead per deciliter of

[155] Helen had an old van, full of Wild Idaho Rising Tide campaign materials, that she slept in while homeless. She would park it in parking lots or on the street until someone told her to move it.

blood; the Center for Disease Control considers 5 micrograms high enough to warrant concern (Christian 2016). Cass struggled with disabilities that he linked to lead poisoning and so did not have a steady job. He connected the comfort of having a paid environmental job to tame tactical choices.

> I would like to say if I had been able to ... finish college and get multiple degrees that I would still be crazy enough to break laws in order to disrupt what was happening [climate change], but maybe I wouldn't, who knows. Maybe if I was comfortable making $40,000, $50,000 a year, doing great things for environmental groups ... I would be happy as hell and kind of trying to hide from that whole extinction trip and just being comfortable.

Helen and Cass were the two interviewees who most embodied an anti-capitalist lifestyle. Making money from being an activist then, was antithetical to their philosophies on life. While their contrast to someone who works as a "professional environmentalist" is extreme, it highlights some of the central divergences between professional and grassroots activists. The biggest one is trust in the status quo, which determines what activists view as pragmatic. Scholars have found more distrust of government and the corporate class among anti-toxics activists—typically grassroots—than among professional environmentalists (Brown and Mikkelsen 1990; Cable and Cable 1995; Krauss 1989).

Grasstops activists, who make a living from organizing, are more attached to the status quo because it gives them stability. They are wedded to a form of democracy that relies on certain types of policy models and regulatory frames that allow some change, but do not ultimately threaten their jobs or retirement. This is not to say that grassroots activists are not also concerned with stability and restricted by it. Jeannie McHale explained that it was hard to "have the level of activity that begins to match the level of injustice." Unlike Helen, who Jeannie saw "going full tilt," Jeannie, a professor, felt "held hostage by the very quality

of life that the things that we protest make possible." She was not willing to make the sacrifices that Helen made. Unlike grasstops activists, however, navigating status quo political and legal infrastructures was not the entirety of Jeannie's job. Not being embedded in and dependent on these structures made it easier to imagine alternatives.

One caveat to this is that groups that have been historically marginalized, like the Nez Perce Tribe, depend on resources from the government, from the status quo. Paulette Smith, who works for the Tribe, explained how "it's really hard for the Nez Perce Tribe to stand up and say, 'we oppose this or we oppose that' without stepping on somebody's toes that has just given us hundreds of thousands of dollars to do this project." Paulette understood what's at stake then, when the Tribe, as an organization, is hesitant to take a stance. Money derived from the very system that has systematically targeted the Nez Perce and their way of life is critical to services that people depend on. This is where Paulette felt that grassroots groups could make a difference: "we [grassroots] can speak for the people that can't and that's our leaders, that's our lawyers." On the other hand, however, there was a line where standing up for justice was necessary. When some members of the Tribe questioned protesting against the megaloads because they thought it was against the law (see chapter eight for an account of the protest), Paulette took a stance. "As a Native," Paulette explained, blocking the highway was

> not against the law. What they [oil companies] are doing to us is against the law, and always will be. And that goes down to my core, to the pit of my heart, that's the difference between that sort of law, non-native law, and our law. Even ... treaties ... treaties were always broken, promises aren't promises, we all know that. And so it's walking a fine line to see who within our community, who within our tribal people will jump on board, because they fear retaliation, that's the reality of it. They think that they will be impacted in a negative way and I don't blame them, but at this point in time in my life, I don't care.

Paulette's excerpt illustrates how injustice is embedded in the systems that grasstops work within. Treaties sound good, but mean nothing when not enforced. Her account points to the need to reveal these injustices and stand against them, while also supporting people and organizations whose social position makes resistance outside of these systems difficult or dangerous.

In sum, among grassroots activists and some professional organizers, there was a sense that formal organizations and nonprofit status created many constraints. It made groups less flexible and their interaction with volunteers more impersonal, hierarchical, and instrumental. Attracting membership can be motivated by the need to raise money. Rather than moving from issue to issue and inspiring people along the way, grasstops organizations had to consider how issues fit their mission statements and, in Kelsey's view, had to maintain levels of control over campaigns that were not conducive to creating genuine collaborations. For these reasons, in part, Kelsey was leaving her job as executive director of a nonprofit in Idaho. In leaving her organization, she hoped to be more able to let "go of attachments to what [an event] is going to be."

Kelsey's perspective on the importance of letting go of control over events developed in the course of organizing the 2015 Idaho Climate Rally. During this effort, Kelsey realized, "If I want everybody to help, help me with my project, it can't be my project, like they have to want to help me and do it because it feels good for them, not because I am making them." Relinquishing control over an event went against the structure of nonprofits. Kelsey explained, "I don't think that really resonates well for organizations that are managing a huge budget, and managing staff, and fulfilling their mission, and giving grants deliverables.... there has to be more control over the message and over the people."

Another restricting feature of working for a nonprofit was that it inhibited freedom of expression. Kelsey said that nonprofit staff, and especially executive directors of nonprofits, were always concerned about how others would view their opinion.

> You say a sentence and you have to think about, 'What might the legislature say about that? Or, if I was quoted in the paper making that sentence, what would the consequences be? Would I say that to my major donors?' You're just so worried about saying the perfect thing that you hold back and I don't think that's what the world needs right now. (Kelsey)

Kelsey's critique of grasstops organizations wanting to control everything resonated with other grassroots activists. That she had learned, while in the role of nonprofit staff, that this was not an effective way to collaborate with people is a hopeful sign of people's capacity to change their strategies. Yet Kelsey did not feel she could collaborate with people in the way she desired while working for an organization—that's why she was starting a new career. The organizational form of grasstops makes it difficult for even the most well intentioned staffers to change the organization's approach.

Strategic Divergence: "Giving Up the Farm"

Understandings of pragmatism are also rooted in groups' strategies, tactics, and motivations––the means they employ and ends they seek. More often than not, the grassroots organizations in my research sought an end to fossil fuel projects. Ending specific projects was part of a larger strategy of keeping fossil fuels in the ground to avert catastrophic climate change. Other goals like accountability and integrity, or climate justice, though different, would amount to the same thing if achieved. Grassroots goals tend to be more focused on global or widespread issues than those of grasstops.

Many of the grasstops organizations focused on the local, and in particular, the local environment. *Protecting* that environment was a common theme, setting these organizations' agenda as defensive, rather than offensive, from the beginning.[156] Environment tended to be interpreted in a restrictive manner, as the non-human environment.

A focus on protection and preservation is linked to maintaining the status quo. A failure to define which status quo should be protected can make this mission seem counterintuitive. The Idaho Conservation League's vision, developed in 1973, can be interpreted as being particularly dedicated to the status quo: "Keep Idaho *Idaho*." For whom? Taken out of context of the environmental mission of the organization, this vision is particularly problematic. 1970s Idaho, the context of the organization's founding, was home to the Aryan Nation, prison riots over living conditions, and the displacement of thousands of people following the collapse of the Teton Dam. In environmental terms, the 70s were the era of the lead poising of children in the Silver Valley and the continued development of Idaho's nuclear industry, which, since the 1950s, injected radioactive waste into the Snake River Plain aquifer (USGS 2008). In 1980, the Nez Perce had to protest to demand their tribal treaty rights to fish salmon on Rapid River (see Johnson 2005). Keeping Idaho *Idaho*, then, necessitates clarification about what should and should not stay as part of Idaho. It's an ironic vision for a group, that, like others, grassroots activists often critique for being too invested in the status quo of organizing and regulatory infrastructures.

Grasstops organizations' theories of change—their theory of how the world changes––typically prioritize legal and regulatory change, which tends to be slow and incremental, a

[156] The Community Environmental Council in Santa Barbara is an exception to this, seeking "to move the Santa Barbara region away from dependence on fossil fuels in one generation."

politics that grassroots see as inadequate to climate science (see also Rosewarne, Goodman, and Pearse 2014). Legal and regulatory means of change require that groups have "a seat at the table" with decision makers and industry groups. This, in turn, and as mentioned in chapter five, requires that groups maintain credibility with politicians. Investment in this theory of change informs professional environmentalists' views of outspoken grassroots activists as people "lighting their hair on fire." It can lead professional environmentalists to become over-invested in regulation and lose sight of radical vision.

In Santa Barbara, Becca saw regulation leading to a sense of false security among the grasstops and politicians.[157] "It's like, not only does [asking for regulation] make the people who are asking for actual justice seem marginal and extreme, it divides us. It gives elected officials in power ... the easy way out." To underline her point, Becca recounted a story about a woman she met while trying to build organizing relationships in her community—Becca was an adept relational organizer. She was at a League of Women Voter's meeting where they were discussing the risks of fracking. Becca advocated for a ban, arguing that fracking cannot be done safely. An elderly woman countered her view, saying, "Well, no, if you look at offshore drilling, there were those of us who were saying we needed to push for a ban you know 40 years ago, but ... we realized that we could just achieve regulations and now offshore drilling is happening safely all around the world." Becca was horrified that the woman was "patting herself on the back" about this. The BP oil spill had just wreaked havoc on the Gulf Coast, which Becca saw as evidence that offshore drilling could not happen

[157] See, for example, the Paris Agreement. While politicians hailed the agreement a success, the emissions reduction pledges made by countries would lead to three degrees Celsius warming, well above the 1.5 degree target (Yardley 2015). For the failures of the Paris Agreement, see Foran (2015).

safely. In Becca's view, there was a big difference between regulations and achieving a livable planet.

Furthermore, Becca explained, regulations can give the industry more credibility and legitimacy. Even though Santa Barbara County was "the most regulated on paper" with regard to oil extraction, an oil industry insider had told Becca that oil companies had gotten away with more "environmental atrocities" in Santa Barbara than in other communities. Becca cautioned:

> We constantly have to be thinking, what are we asking for and is it actually going to get us closer to the ultimate win? Or, is it just going to ... be an incremental step that we can feel good about and actually get the industry ... their foot, further in the door and be a false sense of security for the public?

Forty years ago, in the era of the elderly woman referenced above, many of the environmental organizations in Santa Barbara formed in response to the 1969 oil spill in the Santa Barbara Channel. Regulation was the eventual outcome of public outcry over the spill. It was not, however, what the public originally wanted, as Molotch (1970) argues. Post-spill, Santa Barbarans had faith in the accountability of the political system, emboldened by elected leaders' proposals for drilling bans. These bans never came to fruition. Molotch concluded his analysis at the time with hope that some Santa Barbarans "had come to view power in America more intellectually, more analytically, more sociologically—more radically—than they did before" (142). The more radical Santa Barbara interviewees have seen a different outcome. From their perspectives, the Santa Barbara environmental community became regulators in need of a good shake-up, a topic I discuss below.

A final key point from Becca's analysis is that of regulatory capture, "the process through which regulated monopolies end up manipulating the state agencies that are

supposed to control them" (Dal Bó 2006:203). In her view, establishing regulations goes in the wrong direction because it creates a government apparatus with employees that depend on oil production, as she argued is the case in Santa Barbara.[158] Santa Barbara's Energy division, with twelve staff in 2016, is indeed dependent on industry. A County of Santa Barbara (2013) brochure seeking an Energy and Minerals Division Manager explains, "The division is funded *entirely* through permitting revenues from oil, gas, and mining projects. Increased oil and gas production activity in our County is likely given current trends and *will result in the division expanding* to manage that growth" (my emphasis). Growth of oil is good from an organizational view because it assures the continuation of the organization.

Another example of how regulators are captured by industry is the Idaho Oil and Gas Conservation Commission. One of the Commission's goals for 2017-2018 is to develop policies that "foster, encourage and promote the development, production and conservation of oil and gas resources" (Idaho Oil and Gas Conservation Commission 2016). The agency's definition of "conservation" has been used to justify the need for unitization of land. Unitization, or "forced pooling" works to enlarge the area of gas that is extracted "to prevent waste." Forced pooling is a method whereby an oil and gas company can ask a state to force a certain percentage of mineral rights owners in a certain area or "pool" to lease their mineral rights, against their will, if a certain percentage of other mineral rights owners have agreed.

[158] Near the time when I interviewed Becca in 2016, Los Angeles appointed an oil administrator after not having had one for a long time. They created an office of Petroleum and Natural Gas Administration and Safety for the administrator to oversee. While Becca recognized that Los Angeles "hadn't had the oversight they needed," she felt like installing a administrator, rather than, for example, seeking to transition to renewable energy, was a "step in the wrong direction." It was creating more social and political infrastructure to support oil in a context when activists feel society needs to be dismantling fossil fuel infrastructure. See Cart (2015) for an account of the Los Angeles scandal and how regulation does not necessarily mean there is strict oversight of oil and gas.

In Idaho, this threshold for integration is fifty-five percent. This means owners of forty-five percent of minerals have no choice over whether they want extraction to occur beneath their homes. People who do not own minerals have no say at any point. The bottom line, which resonates with the general grassroots distrust of government, is that regulators who allow policies like forced pooling are not people that grassroots activists want to work with.

This directly contrasts with most nonprofit approaches. Linda Krop, Chief Counsel for the Environmental Defense Center in Santa Barbara, typically meet with agency staff and counsel before beginning ballot measure campaigns. While agency staff cannot take a side on a measure, Linda explained that they can identify elements of the measure that they find unclear or of concern, which allows ballot measure proponents to address these before beginning their campaign. To Linda and other activists' dismay, the County played a large role in damaging the Measure P campaign when it published a report by County staff with incorrect information. "It really hurt us, because it wasn't just the oil companies against the environmentalists or the community. It was the oil industry supported by the County disagreeing with us" (Linda Krop). In Linda's view, better preparation and working with the government might have produced a different outcome.[159] Activists like Becca, however, might have less optimistic views about winning regulators' support.[160]

These critiques do not mean that professional environmentalists do not have good intentions. Indeed, critics often temper their words with recognition of nonprofits' good

[159] Or, as John Foran, who participated in the effort, said in reply to Linda's assessment: "maybe the county should have got it right."

[160] Indeed, Pellow argues that the assumption that inclusion into the legal system will enable justice has been one of the greatest shortcomings of the environmental justice movement and scholarship (2016:384).

work: “I’m pretty disdainful of those established organizations. They’ve certainly done some good stuff, but ...” (Gary Paudler). Many professional environmentalists were inspired to pursue their careers by a desire to make the world a better place—something that also motivates grassroots activists. And some professional environmentalists retain a radical vision, are deeply invested in justice, and wish that grassroots would, to use a grassroots term, “assume good intentions.” If grassroots assumed good intentions of professional environmentalists and their organizations, they may be more open to understanding that they employ particular strategies for a reason.

Ben Otto exemplified this stance. A self-described optimist, Ben was well versed in and committed to environmental and climate justice, preferred that natural gas extraction did not happen in Idaho, and valued the work of grassroots activists. He wanted them to understand the strategy of professional environmentalists and to recognize that it is needed too. Ben explained that his job was about developing relationships with state agencies and utilities and that these relationships informed his communication strategies: “I may be coming across using words that seem more reasonable, or that I’m giving up the farm, or ... conceding a lot of stuff.” He wanted the grassroots to know, however, that he was not “selling out” or “trying to get a job at the utility.” Rather, he was engaged in a strategy that he felt contributed to grassroots’ capacity to achieve their own goals.

> [E]ven if your partner ... seems to be playing the inside game, it’s for a reason and there’s a strategy, and you need to have both of the things happening in order to get these wins. I have huge respect for the grassroots that shows up and says we need to close every single coal plant this year. That’s really important, but that’s not really going to happen.

Ben’s plea to the grassroots aligns with calls by activists to employ diverse strategies and tactics, in other words, to “use all the tools in the toolbox.” In reference to his efforts to close

coal plants, he explained: "That's something that a diverse conservation community needs to get better at understanding—that shared goal [of closing a coal plant] and being comfortable with slightly different tactics and strategies to get there. Because that's how we'll be successful, is the broad coalition." That Ben felt he needed to explain this to the grassroots, however, reveals a disconnect in communication between the two wings of the movement. Rather than working together behind the scenes and then deploying various strategies, Ben's account assumes these strategies are developed and deployed without much conversation across organizational types.

Ben's perspective ultimately comes back to working to achieve what is practical. As he said, the hardline grassroots call to keep coal in the ground is "not really going to happen." While he acknowledged the danger of working with agencies, how this might be interpreted as "conceding" or "selling out," his work to build relationships with them depended on the assumption that they can be moved to work in the interest of the people. Many grassroots activists have lost all hope in state agencies. A barrier is created when both sides feel the other's whole approach is "not going to happen," whether because agencies are too corrupt or because demands are too radical. Having conversations and tempering language to encourage, rather than discount, different visions and demands, or to understand clearly how those demands come together, is key to avoiding the misinterpretations of strategy that Ben described.

Tactical Divergence

These divergent approaches or strategies have divergent tactics. In simple terms, the more reformist approach asks nicely and works to persuade, whereas the more radical approach attempts to make demands. Both camps are playing a game. They each have strategies and different interpretations of how to "win" (Theo Lequesne).

The professional approach of working with decision makers requires having a seat at the table and offering plans that will be accepted. In contrast, many grassroots activists' actions start with the assumption that oil and gas companies are fundamentally nefarious and have the ear of regulators. Alma Hasse, for instance, often works to understand and counter what she calls "the oil and gas playbook." Part of that playbook is to make activists seem extreme, to appear as people with their hair on fire to regulators, the media, and especially to fellow community members and organizations. It's a strategy of divide and conquer, which is common in extraction zones (see Bell 2016).

The very policies surrounding extraction also incite divisions. Courtney Washburn, Executive Director of Conservation Voters for Idaho, lamented how regulations for natural gas were developing in Idaho: "it is setting neighbors up to fight with neighbors for years to come because of personal property rights and planning and zoning issues, that just went largely unaddressed." Having strong relationships between and among community members is one way to counter this, something that, as discussed above, can be challenged by the distance between paid and volunteer activists.

Helen Yost worked to counter industry's playbook by ensuring activism was unpredictable and caught the fossil fuel industry by surprise. She saw her strategy as playing "hard core psychological warfare" (Helen Yost).

> The only way you are going to get them [Big Oil] if you are a rebel, is using all kinds of unknown—to the standard procedure or to the people in control—asymmetrical warfare techniques. You just make it up as you go, you get unpredictable, you get people popping up in God knows where out of the bushes or wherever and it scares the crap out of them [Big Oil] and that's as it should be. (Helen Yost)

Activists in Helen's group, Wild Idaho Rising Tide, and in the network Fighting Goliath "popped up" by monitoring megaloads all over Idaho and Montana. Activists would follow the loads, video their movements, and record their traffic delays. Based on the success of the megaload campaign in Idaho and the rapid success of the signature gathering campaign for Measure P in Santa Barbara (see chapter eight), an element of surprise serves activists well. Borg Hendrickson described how she and her husband Lin—core members of the Fighting Goliath network that defeated the megaloads—caught Big Oil by surprise in their rural Idaho town: "A lot of what one has to do along the way is be novel and creative and imaginative ... you have to do what they [Big Oil] don't expect." Lin and Borg, therefore, turned out about one-sixth of their small town—100 out of 650 people—to an informational session for Exxon/Imperial Oil, hosted by the Idaho Transportation Department. Ahead of time, they found out what messages Exxon/Imperial was going to communicate. "When we got to the meeting," Borg recounted,

> we had the truth about every single one of them [the oil company's points], something they didn't expect.... And they had dubbed this as an information session, not an exchange—we brought our own microphone and speaker ... that, they didn't expect.... there were a lot of things that we did that were really novel and creative, so that they had no idea how we were gonna hit them at any point in time. And we always hit them with the truth.

There is not typically anything surprising about regulatory procedures, at least in terms of what activists and organizations have control over. During my fieldwork in southwest Idaho, the Idaho Department of Lands scheduled surprise meetings on very short

notice multiple times. This made activism feel like running to put out fires. “We just keep ... taking the opportunities ... that are thrown at us [laughs]. I don’t mean going out and getting opportunities, like selecting one [laughs], no, you just grapple with the one that got thrown at you” (Sherry Gordon). The megaloads, however, are one example of a surprise regulatory approach by activists, who put together a successful legal challenge in record time (Natalie Havlina). Thus, activists had mixed success getting ahead of the next step in the fossil fuel industry’s playbook.

Grassroots activists extended the playbook analogy to nonprofits as well. Gary Macfarlane worked for Friends of the Clearwater, a group that had only two staff at the time of our interview. Because of this, it shared more similarities with grassroots organizations than large nonprofits. Gary described Friends of the Clearwater as more “feisty” than most big green groups. With the big greens, Gary said, “there’s an effort to cut back room deals with supposedly all interests represented at the table.... I think it’s a very anti-democratic effort wrapped up in a nice package called collaboration and working together.... We’re not part of that process, and we have been very critical of that.”

Being fed up with the standard procedures of this playbook, what Gary Paudler called “environmental passivism,” inspired activists to form new groups. 350 Santa Barbara and 350 Idaho attracted activists because they filled a perceived need for a different kind of organization. Max Golding’s climate justice activism began when he bought himself a birthday ticket to the Tar Sands Blockade action against the Keystone XL Pipeline in Houston, Texas. While there, he attended trainings on direct action. This experience was the impetus for Max to co-found 350 Santa Barbara in early 2013: “Suddenly the gears are ticking in my head and I was like this is stuff that I could take back to Santa Barbara. There

isn't really anything fiery in Santa Barbara. There's just this nonprofit, you know, water bottle and shit kind of mentality" (Max Golding). Recycling or not using plastic water bottles is something grassroots activists saw as a first step personal environmental behavior. They considered it a tame tactic, and most thought that it was not "doing us any good"—that people should focus on political and system change. Thus, to use it to describe nonprofits reveals Max's disagreement with their tactics and strategies. Cass Davis did not recycle, something that irked many of his environmentalist friends. His response was, "if you took the time that you took to make sure your recycling bins were in order and going to the recycling center and used that time to cause conflict against the capitalist structure, you'd be doing a lot more."

Gretchen C., the leader of 350 Idaho, recounted a similar reason as Max for being attracted to 350.org: "Their form of activism is a little bit more like civil disobedience, a little bit more in-your-face compared to a lot of the groups in town [Boise] which are more ... on the passive side." Gretchen explained that most groups in Boise, Idaho were unlikely to protest, because their "whole point" as organizations was to get members, or to convince the local utility, Idaho Power, to "maybe" think about projects like community solar. "Rather than force a demand, it's more like: 'Let's make friends with them and try to diplomatically work things out, even if they slam the door in our face, we will still go back with a smile'" (Gretchen). Gretchen hoped that 350 would provide "that side of activism" that the other groups did not have.

Commitment to active protest, creativity, making demands, and public participation defined grassroots tactical decisions. In their view, these were the most effective ways to

counteract the collusion of government and the fossil fuel industry—what most identified as the root of the problems they faced.

Motivational Divergence: Fear of Losing

Motivations, alongside strategy and tactics, are a final area of divergence that informs decisions about strategy. A fear of losing undergirds the motivations and cautionary approaches taken by grasstops activists. Fear of loss is also tied to length of involvement in the environmental movement. Interviewees who were most fearful of loss had a history of securing victories and suffering defeat in the organizations with which they worked. This suffering, perhaps, informed their hesitancy to take actions that they thought would result in loss, or even worse, a roll back in previous wins.

Dave Davis, age sixty-seven, was former Executive Director of the Community Environmental Council and someone who had a long history of involvement in Santa Barbara's civic life. His perspective illuminated this fear of loss position. Dave and other leaders in Santa Barbara's environmental and political community had a number of reservations about grassroots activists' idea to try to qualify an anti-fracking ballot for the mid-term election in 2014. Once grassroots activists decided to gather signatures, in spite of Dave and others' reservations, Dave knew that his organization "had to be on the right side" of the issue. He had to figure out how to convince his board to support the campaign. The Community Environmental Council board "basically said no, we don't want to be involved ... because if we lose, it's going to put power in the North County with the industry and then the industry is going to take down the supervisors, even local control is going to go out the door,

we have more to lose than we have to gain" (Dave Davis, my emphasis). Dave's work to convince the board resulted in a split vote of 7-5 to support the initiative. A couple of board members became key donors to the campaign.

Despite this, the underlying sense that there was more to lose than gain was a strong current in Dave's account of Measure P, which did lose.[161] In 2016, when I interviewed him, Dave was wary of negative repercussions that could still be on the horizon and pointed to two outcomes so far. In 2015, a Democrat supported by oil companies challenged incumbent Democratic County Supervisor Janet Wolf, known for her environmental leadership. Wolf won re-election by ten percentage points. But then, according to Dave, Big Oil used what it learned in that campaign to successfully appoint a pro-oil candidate to the Goleta City Council, making it majority conservative. Each city in the region has a seat on community development organizations, so this added to conservative power at the regional level. Dave feared a takeover of the Board of Supervisors as well, saying that if oil ever controlled the Board of Supervisors, "everything we have done for greenhouse gases to oil restrictions, they are just going to undo those suckers." In Daraka Larimore-Hall's words, Measure P "poked the hornet's nest." Poking this nest made Big Oil more bent on securing its power. And Dave thought losing to Big Oil was more likely after the Measure P failure, which oil companies could point to as evidence of public support for oil in Santa Barbara County. Dave connected his fears to broader trends as well. He thought environmental protections would be stripped if the White House and Senate ever were controlled by Republicans:[162]

[161] See chapter eight for my full account of Measure P.

[162] Unfortunately, Dave was right. Early in his term, President Trump and his administration began working to undermine environmental protections. President Trump has signed

> *In the 45 years I've been doing this stuff, you work really hard to get things enacted, but once they go away, they're gone for a generation…. it is beyond hard to get them back* ... That's what would keep me up at night—both locally and nationally—if we lose what we got, let alone be able to step out and do something more progressive on fossil fuels. (my emphasis)

With a long history of progressive organizing, Dave's fear about losing was grounded in a fear of losing, not abstract successes—successes that a young person like myself might grow up with as the status quo—but *his* successes. These were successes he had supported, that he or others he knew earned through hard work. Needless to say, Dave likely suffered from lack of sleep in the aftermath of the 2016 election of Donald Trump as president of the United States. Fears among progressives about what Trump's presidency will mean, about the potential for a rollback of wins, demonstrates widespread resonance with Dave's concerns.[163]

This fear of loss by key community members had negative consequences for the psyches of grassroots organizers in Santa Barbara, who began to feel as if they would set back the whole movement if Measure P lost. This elevated the stress of the campaign tremendously, exacerbating the hostile environment created by oil companies funneling 6.2 million dollars into the county to oppose the measure. Becca, a grassroots originator of the campaign, explained that her decision to go along with changes in some of the campaigns tactics—a change that disillusioned core grassroots originators of the campaign, Becca and myself included—as motivated, in part, by the fear she felt from big greens. Becca explained, "they just created a lot of fear in me.... It was like if we lost, it was going to set the whole

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executive orders to roll back President Obama's clean water rule and to restart the Dakota Access and Keystone XL Pipelines.

[163] Headlines with "roll back," "dismantle," and "reverse" in the title are abundant in articles about the Trump administration's proposed environmental policies. See, for example, Milman (2016).

environmental movement back, it was going to destroy the county, all of these things that aren't necessarily true and depend entirely on whether we decide to keep going or not." Her words illustrate her belief in grassroots power and her dedication to movement building, which can happen regardless of legal or political wins, as in the case of Measure P. She believed that whether a movement is set back by a defeat depends on whether participants continue moving forward—something she and her grassroots colleagues were doing. Looking back, Becca said she would have prepared herself for something she called "concerntrolling," which she described as:

> [T]here are people that are with you ... they say they are with you and they care about the issue, but they just don't like how you are doing it, or when you are doing it ... and they end up getting really negative.... I felt it on both sides. It was like the oil industry was really ramping up their campaign against us and then even they—call it the old guard in Santa Barbara—was being pretty antagonistic and far less than supportive of our effort, behind closed doors.

In the early stages of Measure P, seasoned activists in the community "concerntrolled," through efforts to decide how and when the campaign operated. In the later stages, the Democratic Party did control the campaign and displaced horizontal organizing based on a team captain structure, with hierarchical organizing (see chapter eight). Concerntrolling and Democratic Party takeover were the opposite of Kelsey's strategy of letting go of control.

In some ways then, Measure P originators' decision to partner with the Democratic Party strategy was a response to fear. It was also a response to fear generated by a particular definition of "success," which focused narrowly on passing the measure. For many grassroots activists, however, the success of any one campaign is not limited to changing laws. Building a movement, inspiring new activists, and sustaining momentum, are integral dimensions to

grassroots' definitions of success. As Becca said above, success depends on "whether we decide to keep going or not." She expanded on this point:

> I was aware that there was a possibility that we would lose, but I thought that that was just the starting place, I didn't think that a failure on the ballot was going to be a failure for everyone. I, and a lot of the people I was talking to, felt like we needed to start where we start and that way, we identify other people who care about this—identify opinion shapers who were willing to go public, spokespeople who were facing the problem directly in their backyards—and all that has happened. I mean, we've got a huge list of people and connections all over the county. (Becca)

The Measure P campaign inspired many people and built a movement, but it sacrificed some of its focus on this goal to try to secure a policy win, and in doing so, may have made it more difficult to secure both. As Becca explained, if the grassroots had maintained their horizontal strategy, "we would have done a lot better than we did, even if we didn't win." Better refers to inspiring people to join the movement—"building power" (Becca).

Since 2014, however, there are many signs that Measure P did not have the negative ramifications that the big greens feared. On the local level, it likely enhanced support and political will for progressive policies. In 2015 and 2016, the Santa Barbara County Board of Supervisors approved the state's most stringent carbon emissions levels for oil projects, funded a feasibility study for community choice aggregation, and rejected an oil project with stricter environmental protections than a similar project the same board approved just three years before. Despite challenge by an oil-supported candidate, former environmental attorney Joan Hartmann won the contentious Third District Supervisor seat in 2016, maintaining a progressive majority. On a broad level, the anti-fracking movement has grown stronger since Measure P's defeat. Monterey County became the first oil-producing county in California to ban fracking. Its measure also banned *all* future conventional drilling. Just a month after Measure P's failure, New York state banned fracking in 2014. These wins illustrate the

grassroots view that energy mobilized and inspired through community and movement building does not dissipate with a defeat. It remains, grows, and spreads as people travel and communicate across blockadia. Tsing (2004) calls these traveling sets of tactics, plans, and inspirations "activist packages." Helen Yost described this phenomenon in relation to the megaload struggle, which went on for several years before it succeeded in stopping the megaloads: "We were just little guys in the streets and you know what comes next? There are a lot of little towns and other little guys watching this whole thing happen and they are going to rise up too because they were pretty freaking inspired."

Grassroots activists then, viewed losing in a different way. Many saw the struggle, rather than the loss, as the defining feature of their work. Their decision to act and risk loss was informed by a commitment to doing what was right, not necessarily what was politically or legislatively feasible. In Natalie Havlina's words, "you don't always win, but you fight because it is the right thing to do." Cass Davis, who was particularly bleak about human capacity to survive climate crisis, shared a similar perspective: "I know the battle in sight is not winnable, I've always kept in mind—'you don't fight fascism to win, you fight it because it is fascism.' There is no winning, just anytime fascism raises its head up, it's repressing, it's horrible, and so you fight against it" (Cass Davis).[164] These perspectives are based on a more radical understanding of success than most nonprofit definitions.

In contrast, because environmental groups have very little power compared to the gas company in Idaho, Ben Otto advised that environmental groups learn "how to lose well ... the

[164] "You don't fight fascism because you're going to win. You fight fascism because it is fascist" is an anarchist meme by Jean-Paul Sartre (1992).

same idea as kind of losing the battle and winning the war." He felt that even if natural gas production occurred—a loss for environmentalists—ensuring that it was done as safely as possible would ultimately be a win. Many of the regulations that Ben envisioned as part of a "win," however, never materialized. Even if they had materialized, grassroots activists would likely have viewed them as "incremental steps," nowhere near the level of change needed to avert climate catastrophe.

Before moving on to grassroots ideas for bridging this gulf between sectors of the movement, I highlight a point of contrast in grasstops' relationship to losing. Ben's concern with losing "gracefully" was different than Dave's fear of losing it all. Context informs this contrast. In Idaho, groups like Ben's had long been working in a hostile political climate with no hope of changing that climate. Idaho has had a Republican legislature and governor since 1995. In December 2016, of the 110 people in the legislature, only seventeen were Democrats. Because of this, it is understandable that Idaho grasstops worked to maintain their seat at the table and play the game—it was the only game available for working toward the types of change and successes that their organizations prioritize.

Groups in Santa Barbara, on the other hand, had a long history of securing regulations. While the state and community provided a far more favorable political climate for environmentalists than Idaho, there were periodic wins for conservatives in the state and county—just enough to add a sense of precarity to the liberal status quo. Wins that occurred under favorable circumstances could change if the political context changed. In contrast, any win secured in Idaho was secured within a hostile environment. Policies that pass tend to be palatable to conservative Idaho politicians and therefore, are unlikely to be jeopardized by

future conservative administrations. These two contexts contributed to whether activists feared losing or planned how to lose gracefully.

CREATING A UNIFIED FRONT

The divergences in understandings of pragmatism, evident in divergent strategies, tactics, and motivations, produced *tensions* because most interviewees wanted to work together. They recognized the importance of a unified front—of having all progressive groups put aside their disagreements to work together. As Helen Yost explained, "there aren't enough hours in the day to talk about what is wrong with the other guys [other organizations] and still do what's right with yours." *How* to achieve unity, however, is an open question. Understanding where each individual or organization is coming from—how their organizational form and experiences shape their decisions—is a place to start. First, however, in line with the thesis of this dissertation, people have to be able to come together and talk, which depends on relationships of trust. Interviewees highlighted specific practices that make this difficult and ways to change these practices.

Don't Stifle New Ideas

Grassroots activists felt stifled by grasstops. There was a sense that these organizations wanted to control the situation and were against "upstarts," new ideas, and different tactics—particularly when these came from young people. In response, grassroots activists advocated openness to new ideas, new energy, and new approaches.

Kelsey, whose experience planning the first Idaho Climate Rally helped her realize that effective collaboration required nonprofit organizers let go of control over campaigns, suggested that nonprofits work to support new groups and new ideas, rather than shut them down. There needed to be a balance between established organizations' experiences and allies on one hand, and new groups' enthusiasm and potential for success on the other.

When activists first came together to plan the 2015 Idaho Climate Rally, big green groups in Boise thought that the other groups would "jump on board" with their plan for getting Idaho to close coal plants. Grassroots activists reacted with questions about how the big greens developed the idea, and their own proposals. Their view was, "we are not going to sign onto a plan that we didn't help develop" (Kelsey). "So it wasn't even that they thought our plan was bad, it was more they didn't help make it and they wanted more information before agreeing that it was a good plan. And that's legit," Kelsey explained. This disagreement revealed a divide between the more established groups who "are more skeptical, maybe more jaded" and newly formed groups (Kelsey). Some of the new groups wanted to push the city of Boise to have one hundred percent renewable energy or to cut off its relationship with Idaho Power and have its own power generation. Older groups, who had worked with the city for decades, were skeptical that this would be successful and also wanted to preserve the relatively good relationship they had with the city.

Kelsey wished that the big greens would recognize that "we don't want to stamp out the enthusiasm of somebody who wants to try again. Like we are quick to say, 'Oh that won't work and here's why, or we have already tried that and they said no.' Why would we want to stop somebody else from trying again? Like maybe they will be able to do it." For her, an

important question for the nonprofit community was learning how to acknowledge different approaches and support them, no matter what similar campaigns had yielded in the past:

> [E]veryone has their own opinion based on what they learned and so how can we teach each other what we learned and not dampen anybody's enthusiasm? As [someone] younger [age 34] ... than a lot of environmental activists, I hate when like my idea is stamped out ... I'm kind of like, "Screw you, you couldn't make it work, that doesn't mean that I can't." ... so we wanted to make sure that we weren't doing that—[so] a new group forms and their idea is to get Boise off Idaho Power, like go for it, let's help them figure out how that might work as opposed to telling them, "Oh you should stop, that's a bad idea." (Kelsey)

This type of mentality—open to new methods, supportive of new enthusiasm, and optimistic—was the mentality that grassroots interviewees longed to see among grasstops groups. It is markedly different from how grasstops responded to the grassroots organizers of Measure P.

The big green groups working on the Idaho Climate Rally recognized that, at the beginning stage in their relationship with the grassroots groups, having a unified policy position was not necessary. It also was not a prerequisite for working together. "We decided that instead of using our planning meetings for us to persuade them that our plan was right, we would use our planning meetings to plan this event where we all would be able to say what we wanted and then we would continue to work together in the future" (Kelsey). These groups agreed to disagree about their long-term strategies in the interest of working together on a shared campaign in which they could learn more about each other, their ideas, and hopefully build relationships that would enable future collaboration. This is a good example of what activists view as an effective way to support each other across different organizational forms. It is the classic method for justice-oriented community organizing—where people come together and develop plans and dreams together, in collaboration.

Left Flank: From Margin to Center[165]

Working together also requires respecting, valuing, and supporting others. Unfortunately, the divergence in visions of what success means leads both sides to discount the other's approach. While I, and most other grassroots activists, are sympathetic to the draw people feel to work on solutions that seem likely in the current political climate, climate science demonstrates that the solutions developed in this realm so far are too little too late (Holdren 2014; IPCC 2014)—in this sense, they are not pragmatic (Rosewarne, Goodman, and Pearse 2014). Having any chance of staying *around* two degrees Celsius global average temperature rise requires radical change. Tim DeChristopher's opening quote summarizes grassroots' sentiments well. DeChristopher, a grassroots activist, spent twenty-one months in jail for outbidding oil companies in an oil and gas auction in 2008. He does not believe the solutions advocated by the NGO-led climate movement will work, explaining "There are very few things that make me more hopeless than a movement based on useful fictions" (Tim DeChristopher quoted in Stephenson 2015:190). The primary fiction that big greens operate on is a belief in working with power holders to regulate environmental damage.

None, Not How Much

Jane Fritz and Becca, activists from different eras and on different ends of the country, thought it was absurd that the respected and well-resourced nonprofit groups in their communities were negotiating over *how much* pollution would be allowed. In *Risk Society*, Beck argues for a reconceptualization of risk. Risk thresholds are not a level of protection,

[165] Bell hooks's (1984) *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* inspired this subtitle.

but a level of acceptable poisoning (1992:65). Experts have the privilege of setting that level, not people who are directly affected by the poison. Grassroots activists agreed with Beck, seeing this situation as fundamentally unjust for people and the environment. Jane and Becca, whose stories are below, held fast to their stance that there should be *no* risk. In their view, environmental groups should not be in the business of deciding *how much* risk is acceptable––this was antithetical to their purpose.

For Becca, the issue was mitigation of oil extraction emissions for the Santa Maria Energy Project. Becca's group, 350 Santa Barbara, felt that their push to reject the project completely, when other environmental groups were pushing for regulation, contributed to stricter emissions policies. That big greens were only seeking mitigation, "meaning oil companies would have to pay some cents for every ton of CO_2 beyond 10,000 tons per year" (Becca) was horrifying to Becca.

For Jane, the issue was herbicides in Lake Pend Oreille, a place she had a deep connection to. She recalled:

> When you have four of the top environmentalists in town sitting down and deciding how many thousand acres they are going to treat with 2,4-D, I am sitting there going, "are you guys crazy? You don't give them a number!" .... And the county was so clever—see this is where someone with history, could see it—"Oh well we'll form a task force and bring them [the environmentalists] to the table. Well when they are at the table, they want to cooperate, they don't want conflict, most people don't want conflict. So as a result, they [the county] got everything they wanted [laughs.] And it was the environmentalists who gave it to 'em and I just said, "That's it, I'm out of here, I can't deal with you people!"[166]

[166] The International Agency for Research on Cancer (2015) declared 2,4-D a possible human carcinogen in 2015. It is a known endocrine disrupter. See the National Resource Defense Council's article "2,4-D: The Most Dangerous Pesticide You've Never Heard of" (Sedbrook 2016) for a detailed account of the pesticide.

Jane's feelings were: "you are poisoning my mother!" Jane had been an activist in Sandpoint, Idaho since the early 1980s. She had seen the community go from one where 350 people would show up to protest at public meetings to one where environmental groups held happy hours at the local brewery for their members. She did not necessarily think that hosting meetings at a brewery was bad, but she felt like the movement was weaker and more complacent than in the past. She lamented the fact that the younger folks running the movement had little interest in learning from older activists like her.

Becca, Jane, and the groups they worked with, represented what grasstops thought of as the "left flank." There was an understanding on both sides that radical demands made the other demands look more reasonable. The left flank shifts the window of polite conversation a bit to the left.[167] The problem with the left flank is that it is left. In other words, it is a marginalized fringe position that gives centrists the ability to say that it is crazy, unrealistic, radical, idealistic and that their position—which can often involve negotiating over an "acceptable level of poisoning"—look like the realistic, reasonable, and pragmatic action. Furthermore, mainstream notions of what is reasonable change over time. Becca explained this in reference to the abolition of slavery:

> We have to build power and you don't do it by bullying people or advocating for incremental steps that don't inspire masses of people.... Did the antislavery movement ask for regulations on slavery? Sure, there were some people who were

[167] The Overton Window is a term for what you can "actually talk about, like polite conversation" (Ben Otto), that Ben Otto explained during this interview. The Overton Window of political possibility was originally developed by Joseph Overton of the Mackinac Center for Public Policy, a small-government leaning think tank focused on Michigan (read more: www.mackinac.org). A sliding window on issues and with the scale from "least government intervention, most freedom" to "most government intervention, least freedom" is available on the website. It is eerily similar to Jim Plucinski's trifold piece of paper analogy that inspired my concept talking across lines, yet has a different scale. It is also the title of a 2010 novel by conservative pundit Glenn Beck.

> probably pushing for regulations, but no, the powerful movement came when white people started advocating for abolition of slavery, the outright end of slavery.... I don't know why environmentalists don't understand that—that we have to stand up and start asking for what we actually need together. (Becca)

Objectively, accepting any level of poisoning is not reasonable or pragmatic. It is also unjust. This norm—the rejection of the precautionary principle—is at the root of environmental degradation and climate change. That accepting levels of poison is so routine within legal and political infrastructures that grasstops target demonstrates just how much control corporations have under capitalism. It's a perfect example of what LeQuesne (2016) calls "petro-hegemony," the fossil fuel industry's power to shape material conditions and ideology through control over culture, the state, and the economy. When I asked one interviewee about their organization's stance on drilling, they wanted to remain anonymous and replied, "Well, we would prefer for them not to drill, but that's not what we are going to say publicly because then you just get chased out of the room." Big green groups acceptance of negotiating over regulation and poisoning as the norm maintains the gulf between them and the left flank.

Centering the Left

The left flank is also problematic because it isolates grassroots activists. Becca feeling bullied by nonprofits had made organizing significantly more stressful for her. Helen Yost felt exhausted from being the left flank. She wished there was more freedom to "just let things play the way they play and not follow some sort of standard procedure playbook" of big greens. "Even better to not be scorned because you don't follow that rule book" (Helen

Yost). Isolating the left flank is part of oil and gas's playbook. Alma explained this connection:

> I've been labeled a fear monger, anti-oil and gas ... but it seems like the oil and gas industry, they have to do that. They have to apply these labels to you to marginalize and demonize you so that people don't listen to you.... The message that I hope ... you're getting for your book Corrie, is that we should always speak the truth, because ... the truth is our biggest friend, you know, you don't have to embellish ... truth, the data, is squarely on our side. (Alma)

By making demands for action that are in line with science seem unreasonable—again, the memorable characterization of grassroots activists as "lighting their hair on fire"—petro-hegemony leads the public and the big greens to discount grassroots demands. Grassroots activists wanted respect and consideration, both for their ideas, and as individuals.

Bringing the left flank from the margin to the center means reorienting the status quo to center, rather than mainstream, radical perspectives. As Bella Abzug, founder of Women's Environmental Development Organization has said, "Women do not want to be mainstreamed into a polluted stream: they want the stream to be clear and healthy" (quoted in Dankelman 2010:15). This type of goal means shifting the entire paradigm to the left. The status quo must change toward justice, rather than radical perspectives being absorbed or accommodated by the status quo. Grassroots activists wanted to change the organizing paradigm, not adapt to a status quo they see as unjust and ineffective.

Also foundational for creating a new center based on perspectives from the margins is recognizing that activists "need everyone to change everything," a slogan of the climate justice movement. Big green staff who are not trying to change everything may have more difficulty empathizing with this principle. Yet, nonprofits' dependence on membership and the acknowledgement—by most nonprofit staff—that they are more successful with the

grassroots behind them, should attune them to the importance of inclusivity. Likewise, taking the science that informs their understanding of the environment seriously would point to a need for more radical positions.

Grassroots activists can struggle with putting this principle of inclusivity into practice as well. Those who work in geographically or politically isolating environments may recognize the need to have everyone on board, yet be so accustomed to working alone that they alienate others they try to collaborate with. And, as youth activists have demonstrated, working beyond pre-established social networks is a challenge for most activists. Concrete practices that can help everyone feel valued include relational organizing and giving attribution. Activists wanted to have trusting and rewarding relationships with each other and members of different groups. They all recognized that trust was an essential component of working together.

Giving Attribution

Giving proper attribution was a good way to build trust. People always admired an activist who demonstrated humility while crediting others or the group. "Leav[ing] egos at the door" (Shelley Brock) was important. On the other hand, personal and organizational relationships could deteriorate when one party took credit for collaborative work. The big greens wanted credit for their role in regulatory change. The grassroots wanted credit for turning people out to hearings, which demonstrated the public support necessary for transforming big greens' work into wins. The organizational form of big greens, however, challenges activists' capacity to credit each other and leave their egos behind. Big green staffs' careers are built

on their activism. In addition, these groups depend on differentiating themselves from others to securing funding. A key question is: "How do you tell a story of how different groups did different parts of achieving the same policy outcome and be able to talk about it in a way that is respectful of acknowledging each, to the funders?" (Ben Otto). Ben recognized this as an area of organizing that "needs a lot of work."

Alongside welcoming new ideas, creating a unified climate justice front requires reorienting actions around a vision that is based in justice. Reshaping actions and visions that everyone wants to be a part of depends on collaboration. Valuing each other through giving attribution, relational organizing, and joining with, rather than isolating the left flank are ways activists on both sides of the grassroots/tops divide can begin this work.

CONCLUSION

One would think that environmentally focused groups, organizations, and individuals would have an easier time working across lines than the climate skeptics and liberals who come together to fight natural gas in Idaho. Yet, from my analysis of the interviews, this assumption is incorrect. Caring about the environment is merely a different starting point for the process of learning how to work together, like the starting point of being concerned about property, integrity, and accountability, or being a college student learning about climate justice.

During my time organizing and talking with activists, the grasstops grassroots divide came up again and again. Like the talking across lines happening in southwest Idaho, it was not something I had anticipated. In Santa Barbara, the divide was something I experienced

during the Measure P campaign. At first, the campaign was ours—grassroots. It was as horizontal, empowering, and invigorating as 350 Santa Barbara had ever been—everything that drew me to join the group in 2013. But when our initiative made it onto the ballot, the big greens really stepped in and we, the grassroots, felt pushed out of leadership. Our feelings at the time and since then, the perspectives of interviewees, all corroborated the need for a different kind of working together.

In Idaho, I heard about this divide from all sides. I heard it from the radical and often on-her-own Helen Yost, whose dedication to climate justice is less known beyond her community than it should be, largely because of historical challenges working with other groups. I heard it from the tiny nonprofit Friends of the Clearwater, who is more grassroots than grasstops. I heard it from a former attorney for a big green and a former executive director. I heard it from CAIA out on their own in Payette County wondering why no groups in Boise would help them. And finally, I heard it from the big greens themselves. While their views were heterogeneous, most, like Ben Otto, were sincere in their desire to work together to achieve climate justice. They felt some of the same lack of support from grassroots that the grassroots reported about the grasstops.

Bridging this divide would tremendously strengthen the climate justice movement. New ideas, energy, and hope from climate justice activists, indigenous knowledge, and experience from frontline communities, and decades of resources and infrastructures of environmental organizations—the environmental movement—would be a formidable force for the fossil fuel industry to contend with. I argue that a commitment to pragmatism—defined as what is possible within capitalism—on the part of big greens is the root of the divide that keeps these wings of the movement separated. Pragmatism is embedded in the

organizational form of established and large nonprofits. It constrains their vision of what is possible—shaping their strategies, tactics, and motivations. To destabilize a status quo that marginalizes anything outside of what current politics and corporate power deem reasonable––a status quo that scoffs at radical visions of a just future, or emotions of alarm and anger as crazy, as someone lighting their hair on fire—when all the science demonstrates that radical change and extreme urgency and love for one another is what we desperately need,[168] should be the work of all people interested in climate justice. To achieve this goal, people organizing in grasstops or grassroots groups can welcome new ideas and new activists. They can seek to support people with the most radical visions—the visions necessary to inspire real change. Rather than marginalizing those visions and leveraging them to make other changes more politically feasible, activists should go join with the left flank. Together, with steadfast demands for what is needed and a commitment to building relationships of trust that support and congratulate each other, the power of each individual and group will be more coordinated. The movement will have the capacity to, as Helen would say, pop out of the bushes and "scare the crap out of Big Oil." At this stage in the climate crisis, this is more pragmatic than the one-step-at-a-time "make nice with" (David Monsees) government and industry that characterizes much of the work of big greens.

[168] See Stephenson's (2015) book: *What We Are Fighting for Now Is Each Other: Dispatches from the Front Lines of Climate Justice.*

CHAPTER EIGHT

Megaloads And Measure P: Coalition Building Against Big Oil

> With the megaloads ... we built a strong grassroots movement. We were able to develop relationships that never existed before, and to bring together a dynamic coalition. We were able to really put forth a strong message, an argument, that really highlighted why the megaloads, for various reasons, were wrong—both locally, regionally, and globally.
>
> – Brett Haverstick, Education and Outreach Director, Friends of the Clearwater, Moscow, Idaho, Interview

> Measure P came blowing out of the ground in December and January [of 2013/14] and [for] many of us who had been involved in electoral politics, it was the wrong year, it was too late to get going, [originators of the measure] *had not built any groundwork within the community* in order to be successful ... it was like well why now?
>
> – Dave Davis, former Executive Director of the Community Environmental Council, Santa Barbara, California, Interview (my emphasis)

> By far the biggest difference in California between the successful [2014 fracking] bans in San Benito and Mendocino counties and the unsuccessful one in Santa Barbara County wasn't the funding differences but the *opposing coalition*.... Measure P was opposed by a variety of trade and public safety unions who had been persuaded by oil company deception into believing that county property tax revenues would be severely impacted by the ban.
>
> – David Atkins (2014), Measure P Campaign Manager (my emphasis)

In 2014, campaigns to stop megaloads in Idaho and to ban extreme energy extraction in Santa Barbara County ended.[169] As the quotes above demonstrate, participants had very different reflections about how the campaigns went. In Idaho, people who worked to stop the

[169] In the case of the megaloads, 2014 marked the end of direct action, but not legal battles.

megaloads had a generally positive assessment of how they built a diverse coalition of individuals and organizations that eventually achieved its goal—stopping the transportation of tar sands infrastructure along Idaho highways. In Santa Barbara, participants in the 2014 ballot measure to ban fracking, acidizing, and cyclic steam injection in the sixth-largest oil-producing county in the state expressed just the opposite view. Many felt that a failure to build coalitions explained the final vote—thirty-nine percent in favor and sixty-one percent opposed—though there was much disagreement about which coalitions would have made a difference.

This chapter examines the processes involved in working across lines to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of these concluded efforts. Working across lines, in contrast to talking across lines, examines what people *do* together within campaigns and how this affects the outcome. Talking across lines is more concerned with what people say or value as methods for effectively working together. These concepts of course happen simultaneously and can also precede or follow the other. This chapter shows how failure to talk across lines in Santa Barbara made working across lines difficult and, on the flip side, how working across lines in central and northern Idaho helped people get together to continue working across lines.

Drawing on fifty-seven in-depth interviews and ethnographic fieldwork, I find that different levels of commitment to and enthusiasm for diversity—in motivations, tactics, and participants—and horizontal, relationship-focused political cultures, shaped the different outcomes of these campaigns. The chapter reveals the widespread importance of these concepts and practices that are so clearly articulated by youth climate justice activists' values of relational organizing and intersectionality (see chapter six). It also expands the scope of

practices at the heart of how Idaho anti-fracking activists talk across lines by drawing on common values (see chapter five). As Brett Haverstick explains above, the success of coalitions depends on activists' capacity to advance a visceral message—that what they are fighting is fundamentally wrong. The comparative analysis that follows illustrates how political economy and sense of place can inhibit this type of framing of extreme energy extraction. Coalition work was less successful when activists tried to unite around one message, set of tactics, and way of building relationships and more successful when groups retained the freedom to employ different messages, tactics, and ways of movement building, in line with each group's priorities. In developing this analysis, I first tell the stories of these two struggles and highlight some of the key similarities and differences between them. I then draw on interviewees' perspectives about their experiences working on each campaign to illustrate how working across lines did and did not happen and to offer paths forward.

TWO TALES OF STRUGGLE

Megaloads: "Weapons of Mass Destruction" [170]

> "I think the megaloads are horrible for the environment and most other things."
>
> – Elementary School Student, Palouse Prairie School, Moscow, ID

In early 2010, Idaho environmentalists and residents caught wind of a proposal that alarmed many. ExxonMobil planned to take over 200 "megaloads" along rural Idaho highways from the Port of Lewiston, Idaho to tar sands mining operations in Alberta, Canada. Exxon needed

[170] This section incorporates and expands on Grosse, Corrie. Forthcoming. "Megaloads and Mobilization: The Rural People of Idaho Stand Against Big Oil." *Case Studies in the Environment.*

a way to get these loads, what it referred to as "modules"—structures that would become part of Exxon Canadian subsidiary Imperial Oil's tar sands extraction site infrastructure—manufactured in South Korea, to the Kearl Oil Sands Project in Alberta. Traveling through the Canadian Rocky Mountains posed challenges for these *mega*loads, as many of the routes have tunnels and narrow rock-faced roadways. Thus, Exxon and its contracted transporter, Mammoet, identified Highway 12, a winding scenic byway in Idaho's wilderness, as the best route and "a game changer for Alberta's oil sands developers" (Mammoet Canada Western LTD 2009). The modules and their trailers, each with 96 wheels, were shipped into the Port of Lewiston, Idaho, the furthest inland port from the Pacific Ocean. The megaload size ranged from twenty-four feet tall by twenty-four feet wide by 120 feet long to 255 feet long and 644,000 pounds; a typical logging truck weighs 80,000 pounds (Friends of the Clearwater). The average width of Highway 12 is twenty-one to twenty-four feet, with little or no shoulder in many places.

Figure 19. Megaload protest. Photo courtesy of Friends of the Clearwater.

Highway 12 is federally designated as the Northwest Passage Scenic Byway. The same route Lewis and Clark took on their trek to the Pacific Ocean, the road travels through the Nez Perce Reservation and along the Clearwater and Lochsa Rivers, both designated wild and scenic rivers by Congress in 1968. With little traffic and no overpasses, the route attracted Exxon and other oil companies, who negotiated in 2009 with Idaho's Governor and Congressmen to secure approval to transport their loads.

Oil companies did not anticipate the opposition marshaled by rural residents. From 2010 to 2013, delays cost Imperial Oil, contributing to the company being behind schedule

by six months and over budget by $2 billion (Briggeman 2015). Some of the first street protests occurred in Montana in 2011, followed by conservation groups and the Missoula County Commissioners winning a Montana District Court battle that prevented megaloads from traveling on the Montana portion of Highway 12. This prompted Imperial to use a temporary, alternate route, U.S. Highway 95, where it met intense protests in multiple towns, most persistently in Moscow, Idaho. To use this route, which included overpasses, streetlights, and electrical wires, Imperial Oil cut the modules' height in half—something it had previously said was impossible. Cutting the modules in half cost Imperial about $500,000 for each module.

In 2013, a federal judge ruled that the U.S. Forest Service has the authority to regulate megaloads on Highway 12, and imposed a temporary injunction against future transportation of megaloads by Omega Morgan, the company targeted in the case. The injunction, effective until the Forest Service completed a corridor study and consultation with the Nez Perce Tribe, required the Forest Service to issue a highway closure order for a portion of the highway if the State of Idaho issued another permit for an Omega Morgan-hauled megaload. Barred from using Highway 12, Omega Morgan tried other lengthier routes through southern and northern Idaho. The expense of these routes, however, eventually made clear the impracticality of the endeavor.

Diversity was a defining feature of the grassroots mobilization against the megaloads, both in terms of motivations for getting involved and the actions protesters took.

Motivations

People opposed the megaloads for their assault on a rural way of life that many residents cherish about Idaho, or move there to seek out. Residents feared that Idaho highways would become industrial corridors—all for the benefit of oil companies. They saw no benefits for locals; in fact, they saw many costs. Idaho taxpayers would be left to pay for road repairs on the heels of truly *mega*loads—loads much larger than roads were built to handle. Residents also feared costs to local economies. The Lochsa and Clearwater river corridor is a recreational paradise. Local businesses depend on the area's appeal to tourists. People wondered what would happen if a load fell into the river. How would it be removed? How would it affect the migration of Threatened and Endangered fish? It would completely change the character of the place. As Gary Macfarlane, Ecosystem Defense Director of Friends of the Clearwater, explained, "those things are bright and big and huge, and they make a lot of noise"—how would a camper like to be woken up in the middle of the night by a megaload? Safety was another concern, as the megaloads blocked both lanes of traffic on a highway that was the only road for people living in the area. What if someone had to go to the hospital?[171]

Another core concern was climate justice. Interviewees viewed the loads as "weapons of mass destruction" (Ellen R., Wild Idaho Rising Tide (WIRT) member) that directly contributed to the oppression of indigenous peoples, the environment, and the climate. Jeannie McHale, a member of WIRT, explained that letting the megaloads go through

[171] In one instance reported by the *Missoulian*, a megaload held up traffic for fifty-nine minutes, just one of five blockages that were over twenty-nine minutes. In total, the megaload held up traffic for more than fifteen minutes (the maximum delay allowed) ten times that night (Briggeman 2011).

Moscow, Idaho without putting up a fight would make her an accomplice to these injustices. Paulette Smith, a member of the Nez Perce Tribe and Nimiipuu Protecting the Environment (NPE), who was arrested on August 6, 2013, while blockading the megaloads, felt compelled to stand up for her people and in solidarity with her sister in Alberta, who had suffered personal trauma as a result of tar sands development. Some interviewees had travelled to the tar sands region for annual, indigenous-led Healing Walks witnessing the destruction. Interviewee and WIRT member Sharon Cousins compared tar sands extraction sites to Mordor, a wasteland and seat of evil in *Lord of the Rings*: "when I saw those trees being taken down like that, ... the black, I have every sympathy with people who call it [Fort McMurray] Fort McMordor, that's what it is, it looks like Sauron's territory." Scholars refer to places like the tar sands region as "sacrifice zones," where the wellbeing of human and more-than-human communities, who are thought to be disposable and powerless, is sacrificed to benefit privileged communities. In the case of the tar sands region, First Nations' homelands have been desecrated, and cancer rates have risen, all to provide energy to the global market.

Lucinda Simpson, also a member of the Nez Perce Tribe and NPE, explained her motivation for resisting megaloads in terms of trying "to stick up for what we need: we are losing a lot of our roots and our fish and the eel." Lucinda explained that many of the Tribe's traditional foods, and the cultural practices tied to these, are dwindling because of climate change. Like other indigenous communities around the world, the Nez Perce have little responsibility for climate change, yet because of their connection to the land, are some of the first to face its consequences. In addition, despite the fact that Nez Perce treaty rights predate the State of Idaho, neither the oil companies nor the state sought approval from the Tribe to

transport megaloads through its reservation. The federal government did not seek approval either; before the legal battle ensued, the U.S. Forest Service did not think it had the power to regulate the loads. Thus, the megaloads were also an issue of indigenous sovereignty.

Figure 20. Nez Perce and allies protest along Highway 12. They stand next to the Heart of the Monster (grassy knoll on right), where the Nez Perce people come from. Photo courtesy of Friends of the Clearwater.

Many interviewees were deeply concerned about, and motivated by, climate change: "We became potential gatekeepers for practices with apocalyptic consequences" (Jeannie McHale). Ellen R.'s protest sign displayed a skull and crossbones image that said, "Stop Exxon Genocide." Meryl Kastin's young daughter could not understand why people would support the megaloads or tar sands mining, "if we know it isn't a healthy thing" (Meryl

Kastin). Trying to give her daughter hope fueled Meryl's involvement with the megaload resistance on Highway 12. She explained, "I really wanted her to see that people could actually make a difference, that we could—we could show up somewhere and make our presence known, and that we could write letters, we could call people, that we could make a difference in the world."

With these diverse motivations, megaload challengers employed diverse tactics and strategies to stop the megaloads. They identified this diversity of motivations, tactics, and strategies as the key to their success. In the words of Education and Outreach Director for Friends of the Clearwater, Brett Haverstick, "It takes a community to stop a bad project. It takes a tremendous team to make a difference [and] ... you need to use all the tools in the toolbox to bring forth change." The "tools" that activists used fell into three categories: legal, general activism, and protest and blockade.

Legal

Many of Idaho's environmental organizations became aware of the megaloads in April 2010. Knowing that "Idaho state court is not renowned for being a friendly place for environmentalists," everyone wanted "a federal hook" for a legal challenge (Natalie Havlina). Natalie Havlina, an attorney for Advocates for the West who worked on legal challenges to the megaloads, researched the situation from April to August 2010, and, with three residents of the Clearwater Lochsa corridor as clients, she and Laird Lucas, also of Advocates for the West, requested a temporary restraining order in state court, which was granted. In the next year, individuals and the groups Idaho Rivers United, Advocates for the

West, and Friends of the Clearwater all participated in various legal actions. In 2011, in federal court, Advocates for the West, on behalf of Idaho Rivers United, challenged the U.S. Forest Service's refusal to take action on the megaloads, and on February 7, 2013, Federal Judge Winmill ruled that the agency does indeed have jurisdiction and a responsibility to protect the values of the wild and scenic river corridor.

General Activism

The "general activism piece" (Natalie Havlina) of the megaload fight included people going to public meetings, monitoring the loads, and writing letters to the editor. Borg Hendrickson and Lin Laughy, residents along Highway 12, were the focal points of this effort and key players in the legal battle. They formed the network Fighting Goliath: The Rural People of Highway 12, and organized their neighbors. As Borg explained, they worked to be creative and to marshal the truth in their favor. In the early days of the megaloads, they turned out over 110 people to a meeting by the Idaho Transportation Department in Kooskia, Idaho, a town with a population of 650 people. Upon hearing that the oil companies were going to have information boards at the meeting, Borg and Lin prepared their own information boards to counter the inaccuracies presented by the oil companies. They brought their own microphone and speaker and turned a one-way information session into a public exchange. Borg developed a large media and contact list to which she sent annotated updates on a regular basis. Communications networks sprung up around the state; a volunteer in Moscow developed a Facebook page to share information.

Along with Fighting Goliath, the grassroots group Wild Idaho Rising Tide (WIRT) and the small nonprofit Friends of the Clearwater (FOC) organized megaload monitoring throughout the region. Members of the groups Great Old Broads for Wilderness, Northern Rockies Earth First!, and Palouse Environmental Sustainability Coalition also took part, following megaloads along wintery roads in the dead of night, to keep track of how often they stopped traffic and violated regulations. On one evening, monitors quickly spread the word when a megaload took out a power line, cutting electricity to 1,300 homes and businesses.

These groups also held information sessions, hosted film screenings about the tar sands extraction impacts, organized community members to attend the annual tar sands Healing Walks in Alberta, and did public outreach. Helen Yost, the core organizer of WIRT, inspired many to join the struggle by spreading information during the weekly Moscow Farmers Market and Climate Justice Forum radio show, through a WIRT Facebook page and website, and by canvassing and gathering anti-megaload petition signatures.

Protest and Blockade

Getting out in the streets was another core component of the struggle. To confront megaloads as they came through towns, WIRT instigated demonstrations and monitoring throughout Idaho and Washington and collaborated with FOC to host protests in Lewiston and Moscow, Idaho. In Moscow, where the majority of these demonstrations occurred, protesters met megaloads in the downtown area, night after night and during winter, holding signs and sometimes sitting down in the road and risking arrest. From 2011 to 2012, sustained protests

met approximately seventy loads that traveled through Moscow on thirty occasions. People were arrested or cited thirteen times during five protesting and monitoring events. The loads often came through town between 11:00 p.m. and 2:00 a.m.

Protesters and tactics in Moscow were diverse. Grandmothers composed a group of the protesters. The local Moscow Volunteer Peace Band played on occasion. One evening, women engaged in street theatre. Dressed in formal gowns, they planned to enter and stall in a crosswalk, when the megaload came uphill, blocking its path. Despite their location outside the typical protest zone, the police seemed to know of their plan and arrived while the protesters were waiting for the megaload, preventing them from crossing the road. Moscow's mayor at the time, Nancy Chaney, was supportive of the resistance, writing letters to agencies and observing the protests, to ensure appropriate interaction between police and protesters. She gave a Mayor's 2012 Earth Day Award to the megaload protesters.

In August 2013, direct action on the issue culminated in Idaho with a blockade of Highway 12 by the Nez Perce Tribe.

> *Holding landing signals, woman and children direct the megaload back from the Nez Perce reservation border. Approximately 150 other people whoop and holler, singing Nez Perce tribal chants and pounding drums. White, blue, and red lights blare in the eyes of protesters, pointed from the line of police vehicles that escort the megaload. "Turn it back, Turn it around," people yell. Women, men, and children are on the frontlines. White non-native faces are sprinkled through the crowd of Nez Perce. People are recording on their phones and cameras, making my fieldnotes on the evening possible three years later. A man holds a small girl, probably three years old, who shakes the blanket in her tiny hand in rhythm with the chants. Signs reflect a*

diversity of concerns — "grammas against megaloads," "climate killers," "blow your megaload somewhere else," "stop the machines of planetary rape - oppose the megaloads," "why work for murderers?" The drum and chanting is a constant presence. Nez Perce tribal police—approximately 10 cars, are spatially behind the protesters (December 2016 Fieldnotes on video taken August 5, 2013: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gzu73gTEEeo)

Figure 21. Nez Perce Blockade on Highway 12. Photo courtesy of Tom Hansen: (http://www.friendsoftheclearwater.org/road-blocking-megalaods-on-us-12/).

Despite the February 2013 ruling that the Forest Service has the jurisdiction to regulate megaloads on Highways 12, and a Nez Perce resolution of megaload opposition, the Idaho Transportation Department issued megaload permits to the transport company Omega Morgan. On August 5, approximately 150 Nez Perce met the first Omega Morgan megaload with a blockade on Highway 12 at their reservation boundary. Much of the organizing for the event took place on Facebook. Efforts of tribal members like Julian Matthews, who started

the group Nimiipuu Protecting the Environment, helped convince the Tribal Executive Committee to take a stance on the megaloads. On that night, after much singing, drumming, and confrontation, eight members of the Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee (NPTEC) were arrested and escorted away by tribal police, in what interviewees saw as a symbolic arrest.

Blockades continued for the next three nights, with twenty-eight Nez Perce arrested in total. In contrast to the first night, these arrests were "protest real" (Paulette Smith), meaning violent. On these nights, the Idaho State Police forcibly arrested Nez Perce protesters in what Lin Laughy and Borg Hendrickson described as "an ugly affair." Tribal member Paulette Smith was dragged under a megaload and her daughter punched in the face by an Idaho State Police officer. Reflecting two years later on the injustice of the event still brought emotion to Paulette's voice. She explained:

> Our leaders got to have their hands in front of them [when handcuffed], they were walked off into this little cart thing, and, ... from what I was told, they were let out on $50 bond, they really weren't arrested and stamped in. The second night, no, that's different, I have every tattoo on my body catalogued with Idaho State Police and Nez Perce County, I was fingerprinted, I was treated like a criminal, I was manhandled.

Non-natives attended the protests to stand in solidarity, but were the first to be moved to the sidelines by police. Nonetheless, this support helped grow a foundation of collaboration between Nez Perce and non-native environmental activists in the area, who continue to work together.

The Nez Perce blockade was a momentous occasion for the loose coalition of activists and organizations that had been fighting megaloads since 2010. It was not only a turning point in legal battles that eventually restricted the megaloads, but also a powerful example of solidarity and resistance that Nez Perce and non-native interviewees remember

with emotion. Like other instances of Indigenous direct action—Standing Rock, especially—state and corporate decisions to ignore tribal resolutions and appropriate legal processes, sparked the action.

The megaload story began to close one month later, on September 13, 2013, when a Federal Judge Winmill issued the megaload injunction on Highway 12. Over the next year, a dozen megaloads tried to take five alternate routes through Idaho, Montana, and Oregon. They met more grassroots and indigenous protectors, protesters, and monitors, an Oregon lawsuit, state agency and corporate office occupations and meeting disruptions, and statements of opposition—all from dozens of groups, including the Coeur d'Alene, Shoshone-Bannock, Umatilla, and Warm Springs Tribes and Indian Peoples Action in Montana. Approximately fifty direct encounters occurred, resulting in twenty-six arrests and citations. In summary, what oil companies hoped would be an easy and profitable plan became just the opposite. Idahoans and the Nez Perce would not allow their ancestral lands, wild places, and towns to become sacrifice zones or to support the sacrifice zone of Alberta tar sands exploitation. Their struggle moved beyond local activism as participants worked together across regions and in solidarity with people suffering the effects of extreme extraction and climate change everywhere.

Since 2013, Nimiipuu Protecting the Environment and various conservation and climate groups have continued to collaborate, building on the bonds and trust forged during the megaload fight. One of their central campaigns has been to remove four dams on the lower Snake River, to improve habitat for salmon that play an important role in Nez Perce culture and nutrition. The Nez Perce Tribe also persists in its resistance to Big Oil, having issued a statement in support of the Standing Rock Sioux's opposition to the Dakota Access

Pipeline, a struggle with an uncertain outcome at the time of this writing. With assistance from University of Idaho Professor Leontina Hormel, the Nez Perce led a study of the importance of the wild and scenic river corridor, as part of the Forest Service's court-ordered mediation with the Tribe. Despite this ongoing mediation, the Idaho Transportation Department adopted new megaload rules for Highway 12 in November 2016. Opponents sent hundreds of letters in protest. In January 2017, the Nez Perce Tribe, Idaho Rivers United, and legal group Advocates for the West reached an agreement with the U.S. Forest Service that prohibited megaload shipments over certain dimensions on Highway 12, and resolved the 2013 federal court lawsuit. Highway 12 then, is protected from megaloads, but other roads, especially in light of the January 2017 appointment of Exxon CEO Rex Tillerson as U.S. Secretary of State, remain at risk.

This case demonstrates how a diversity of motivations and tactics can be used together to powerful effect. Groups worked in collaboration, but also on their own, enabling spontaneity and persistence. They achieved their goals and brought national attention to their struggle (see Johnson's (2013) article in *The New York Times*). It also reveals how a sense of injustice, informed by connection to place and feelings of solidarity with people on the frontlines of energy extraction and climate change, can facilitate working across lines.

I now turn to Measure P in Santa Barbara, a case where working across lines was not as successful and where autonomous horizontal forms of organizing were eventually discarded for hierarchical political party organizing.

Santa Barbara: Measure P Protect Our Water[172]

Figure 22. Yes on P campaign sign.

On January 28, 1969, a blowout occurred below Union Oil's platform in the Santa Barbara channel. It was the worst oil spill the nation had seen and an ecological catastrophe. It was also a catalyst for progressive environmental regulations and the modern environmental movement. Thomas Storke, editor of the local *Santa Barbara News-Press* wrote, "Never in my long lifetime have I ever seen such an aroused populace at the grassroots level. This oil pollution has done something I have never seen before in Santa Barbara—it has united citizens of all political persuasions in a truly nonpartisan cause" (quoted in Loomis 2015).

[172] This section incorporates and expands on Grosse, Corrie. 2017. "Grassroots vs. Big Oil: Measure P and the Fight to Ban Fracking in Santa Barbara County, California." *Case Studies in the Environment*:1-6. doi: 10.1525/cse.2017.sc.442387.

Forty-five years later, a small group of Santa Barbara residents came together to re-invigorate grassroots power to confront the oil industry. Meeting in late February 2014 as 350 Santa Barbara (350SB), a one-year old chapter of the international climate movement organization 350.org, members listened as the two women who would come to lead the Yes on Measure P campaign, Katie Davis and Becca Claassen, proposed the ballot measure idea. The other six activists in the room agreed to support the effort and on April 5, volunteers around the county began collecting signatures to support an initiative that would ban the use of unconventional energy extraction techniques—fracking, acidization, and cyclic steam injection—in new wells. I was part of the campaign from the beginning and, in the next two years, conducted forty-three in-depth interviews with local activists.

In the next seven months, people who had never been active before mobilized around the issue; longtime political strategists and heads of Santa Barbara's many environmental nonprofit organizations weighed in; and Big Oil, perhaps surprised by the signature gathering success, poured money into an opposition campaign. The confluence of these factors, combined with the demographic and political context of the county, informed the strengths and weaknesses of the campaign and the threats and opportunities that activists confronted.

Strengths and Opportunities

Activists behind the effort to qualify Measure P for the ballot successfully mobilized a broad base of not only supporters, but people who would take time out of their day to stand on the corner, in front of the grocery store, and on campus to ask people to sign petitions. Throughout the campaign, over one thousand volunteers mobilized—more than any other

anti-fracking effort in California to date. More than this quantity, however, was the quality of volunteers' engagement. Accustomed to organizing through consensus-based decisions and without formal leadership, the originators of the measure were committed to horizontal leadership. They formed seven teams throughout the county. Each had one or two "team captains" who were responsible for training signature gatherers, collecting signature packets, and tallying signatures totals. In North County, residents alarmed by the oil production around them collected thousands of signatures. An undergraduate student and I were co-captains for the area around the University of California, Santa Barbara. Each signature gatherer set personal goals and timelines. With this model, over 20,000 handwritten signatures in support of placing the initiative on the ballot were collected in three weeks. Sixteen thousand—three thousand more than needed—were deemed valid because they were from registered voters. Meeting this threshold prompted the County Board of Supervisors to place the initiative, which became Measure P, before voters in November. • • • •

Figure 23. The Santa Barbara County Water Guardians pose next to 20,000 signatures submitted to the county elections office on May 5, 2014. Katie Davis, Janet Blevins, Becca Claassen, and I (all center) spent the morning frantically double-checking the validity of signatures before delivering the boxes to the county. Women's multigenerational commitment to the cause is evident. Becca is Janet's daughter and Becca's daughter, Hazel, wears dark blue to my left.

Figure 24. Signature gatherers and supporters celebrate inside the elections office.

A sense of urgency contributed to the energy behind this early phase of the campaign. All core members had come together around the issue of climate change, many inspired by Bill McKibben's 2012 article in *Rolling Stone*, titled "Global Warming's Terrifying New Math" which argued that fossil fuels must be kept in the ground to avoid warming the planet past two degrees Celsius. My abysmal report-backs from the 19th Conference of the Parties (COP) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change held in Poland, that I and John Foran, another member of the 350SB, attended in November 2013, contributed to the sense that *local* climate action was critical. COP19 made little progress toward a global, binding climate treaty. As a *Guardian* headline read: "COP19: The UN's Climate Talks Proved to be Just Another Cop Out" (Zammit-Lucia 2013). There was also an urgency to

protect future generations. Becca Claassen and Katie Davis, two key organizers, felt so committed to the cause that they put their careers on hold to be full-time volunteer organizers. They both felt motivated by a desire to secure a livable future for their kids.

Another dimension of the urgency—why proponents pushed the initiative forward despite some more seasoned electoral campaigners' cautionary tales about low voter turn out in mid-term elections—was looming oil development. 350 Santa Barbara's first victory occurred in 2012 when the County Board of Supervisors required Santa Maria Energy, a local oil company, to purchase offsets for emissions above a 10,000 ton per year threshold on its 136-well expansion. On the heels of this victory, activists became aware of an impending boom in unconventional oil production in the county, which sits atop the Monterey Shale formation. At the time, the formation was seen as a "black gold mine" of petroleum; federal energy authorities later downsized the estimated amount of recoverable oil by ninety-six percent (Sahagun 2014). In the short term, according to Santa Barbara County, applications for 903 wells were permitted, proposed, or anticipated, eighty-nine percent of them using high-intensity techniques. In the longer term, Santa Maria Energy disclosed plans for 7,700 new wells (Nellis 2014). The emissions from these potential projects would eliminate progress 350 Santa Barbara had made so far, and overwhelm all of the lifestyle changes activists made to cut their individual carbon footprints.

Alongside their passion and sense of urgency, the core group of activists behind the measure had the time—what scholars refer to as "biographical availability" (McAdam 1986). They were retired, students, full-time activists, and people with flexible work schedules. They were at a stage in life where they were available for activism. With full-time activists Becca Claassen and Katie Davis, this availability was highly gendered, as both were, in fact,

in a life stage when people are usually least available for activism. They were women in their thirties and forties with careers—Becca as a chiropractor and Katie as a tech executive—and dependent children. They *chose* to become available for activism. Thus, activists' passion to dedicate, or create, free time for the cause helped nourish a grassroots campaign that became a formidable force in local politics.

Threats and Weaknesses

Ultimately, the passion and energy of activists and even high voter approval ratings in summer of 2014 (fifty-seven percent) proved insufficient to pass Measure P on Election Day. Based on interviews and my own participation in the campaign, I argue that entrenched oil industry power, insufficient groundwork before the campaign, and the change in tactics brought on by collaboration with the Democratic Party shaped the outcome.

The oil industry has a long presence in California and Santa Barbara County, where it pioneered offshore drilling in the late 1800s. In 2014, it continued its tradition of using money to shape politics (see Molotch 1970). A group called Californians for Energy Independence, whose donors included Chevron, Aera Energy, and local oil companies, surprised proponents by funneling over six million dollars to opposition efforts. Measure P proponents raised over $400,000—outspent more than fifteen to one. This, combined with the fact that many contributions to proponents arrived late in the campaign, inhibited outreach efforts.

One effect of low funding for outreach was that some voters assumed that the opponents represented their interests. As Hazel Davalos, Organizing Director for Central

Coast Alliance United for a Sustainable Economy (CAUSE), which supported the measure, explained, Latinx voters in North County frequently heard—on local and large-scale media platforms, including Univision and Telemundo— No on P messaging in Spanish from North County Latinx spokespeople. Latinos comprised forty-three percent of the county population of 424,896 in 2010, and seventy percent of the 99,553-person city of Santa Maria, North County's largest city. People were like, "oh they are actually advertising to us. They must be the campaign that has our interests at heart" (interview, Hazel Davalos). Some of these ads focused on how loss of tax revenues from oil would hurt local schools that predominantly working-class Latinx communities—composed largely of agricultural workers—depend on.[173] Yes on P made a costly mistake when non-resident campaign staff bought ads on Spanish-speaking radio in South, but not North County. Not having as large of a base in North County, Yes on P spokespeople were typically based in South County. Therefore, they were not people that most North County residents recognized.

The sheer quantity of No on P messages, which centered on loss of jobs and tax revenues, was also insurmountable. Proponents spent their energy countering industry lies, rather than educating the community about the water and health risks of fracking—a message that is as relevant to Latinx agricultural workers as it is to white tourist sector employees, who both depend on the environment for their livelihoods. Creating doubt is a powerful tactic in and of itself, as evidenced by the fossil fuels industry's efforts to manufacture doubt about climate change (Oreskes and Conway 2010). Central points around which doubt emerged were whether the initiative applied to existing oil wells (it did not), and, related to this, if the

[173] For an example, see No on P ad: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D45TdAk3Jnc.

county would be at risk of lawsuits. A county staff report (County of Santa Barbara Staff 2014) with incorrect information exacerbated this situation and was cited by opponents throughout the campaign despite the report's rejection by the County Supervisors. In Becca Claassen's view, the county suffers from regulatory capture by the oil industry—staff in Santa Barbara County's Energy Division depend on the oil status quo for their jobs. For this reason, they are inclined to keep oil going and are therefore "captured" by the industry. Finally, industry arguments overstated the jobs and taxes supplied by the industry. Oil and gas production accounted for only 1.07 percent of county jobs and 2.65 percent of county property taxes (County of Santa Barbara Staff 2014) and directly threatens the county's largest economic sectors—agriculture and tourism.[174] The measure exempted existing production, and therefore, would have had little effect on existing jobs and tax revenues.

Insufficient groundwork leading up to the campaign was a primary weakness of its proponents efforts. They were a small grassroots group, that, on hearing that their efforts would be negated by oil expansion, decided to take electoral action in a much shorter period than is customary.

More established members of Santa Barbara County's environmental community cautioned the proponents about the difficulty of passing a fracking ban in a mid-term election, which are known to have low voter, and especially low progressive voter, turnout.

[174] The Workforce Investment Board of Santa Barbara (2012), which is staffed by the County of Santa Barbara, issued a 2012 report examining the top industry clusters in Santa Barbara County. The report identified agriculture, tourism, and wineries as the dominant industry cluster, accounting for 36,088 jobs, or fifteen percent of the County's workforce. Only 566 jobs were documented in the energy and environment industry cluster, or .2 percent of the County workforce.

In interviews following the election, these established environmental figures and party leaders also explained that the rapidity of the campaign inhibited relationship-building with local leaders, labor unions, key spokespeople, and potential donors. This likely contributed to surprising endorsements of No on P by the generally progressive *Santa Barbara Independent*—though a coalition of editors wrote against this endorsement—and by public safety groups such as the Santa Barbara Fire Fighters Local and Police Officers Association. As described above, it made it difficult to build relationships and cultivate support in the Latinx community. More preparation time, explained Linda Krop, Chief Counsel of the Environmental Defense Center in Santa Barbara, might also have helped make the initiative more clear for county staff. This may have prevented the dissemination of false information and confusion.

> It goes back to the starting early. When I've written initiatives before, I will often run them by county staff and counsel, and say here's what we're trying to do ... [agency staff can't take a formal position, but] they can look at it and say, "What do you mean by this?" or "We are concerned about how this might affect well maintenance," and then we can have that conversation and resolve it before it hits the streets and then we don't have the county's opposition. So all of those kind of preliminary things didn't happen (Linda Krop).

Many of these established groups, though skeptical and cautionary about the proponents' plans, came on board as momentum built. On May 12, when the initiative qualified for the ballot, these groups were pleased, and a bit surprised by the overwhelming success of the signature efforts.

The local Democratic Party decided to endorse the measure soon after it qualified for the ballot and offered to partner with the campaign. The measure's proponents, overwhelmed by the input from people seen as experts in local elections and environmental politics, and tempted by the idea that securing the support of loyal Democrats and Independents who vote

democratic would be their best chance to win, agreed. Though Santa Barbara County leans democratic, in October 2014, only forty percent of voters were registered Democrats. Aligning with the Democratic Party may have dampened bipartisan support for the measure, whose focus on water quality had potential as a bipartisan message.

Interviewees also argued that turning the campaign over to the Democratic Party had the effect of changing the structure of organizing, something I experienced as a participant in the campaign. As Arlo explained,

> [In fall 2014] I found that the coalition of folks who was leading this campaign had changed drastically [from the spring] and it suddenly included largely folks from the Democratic Party of Santa Barbara and ... it was just a much different beast that was pushing this anti fracking campaign.... we ended up putting so many of our volunteer hours—us being all the folks who helped get Measure P on the ballot—into talking about issues that weren't Measure P or talking about [Democratic] candidates. And it felt really frustrating because yes, the Democratic Party was allowing use of their office downtown, but otherwise, like what were we really getting out of them? ... there were times when it felt like they were getting a lot more out of us than we were getting out of them.

Whereas proponents had cultivated distributed leadership through the team captain structure in the signature phase, during the lead-up to the November election, this structure was disbanded and replaced with phone banking and precinct walking in which volunteers were instructed, through a hierarchical leadership structure, to follow scripts explicitly connected to the Democratic Party to communicate with voters. While volunteers had previously focused on their own neighborhoods, in this model, they were distributed throughout the county, regardless of their residence. This, combined with burnout from the signature effort, disillusioned some key volunteers, myself included.[175] All volunteers, no matter what role they had played in the signature effort, were expected to return all data to the Democratic

[175] In our interview in 2016, Juan, who was also a team captain in the signature effort, said "maybe we have PTSDP"—post-traumatic stress disorder from Measure P.

Party who took primary responsibility for compiling data, developing timelines, and determining which voters volunteers contacted. Becca Claassen co-originated the campaign and though she had the title of Campaign Committee Chair, felt disempowered by the new campaign structure. If she were to do it again, she explained that she would have advocated

> starting voter contact much earlier, less phone calls and more door-to-door, more face-to-face, more empowerment and actual relationship building, not considering everybody on your list just a volunteer. Sure there are those people who just want to be told what to do ... but there are other people who have valid concerns and opinions and know their neighborhoods better than you do. We were encouraged [by the Democratic Party] to just like tell the volunteers what to do, make them stick to the script. It felt very hierarchical and top-down, not empowering, if anything it was disempowering.

The collaboration did have positive elements. It allowed proponents to use Democratic Party office space, precinct and phone banking databases, and to have their measure on party literature. Together, Democratic Party and Yes on P volunteers made hundreds of thousands of phone calls and knocked on thousands of doors in an unprecedented field campaign in the county. Yet, alongside these benefits came a change in the spirit of the campaign that many core organizers regretted. They felt that the Democratic Party benefitted more from the popular movement proponents galvanized than the measure benefitted from the Democratic Party. They looked to the success of a 2014 fracking ban in San Benito County, where the grassroots originators of the campaign maintained autonomy from political parties, as an example of a different method for carrying out the campaign. In 2016, Monterey County also successfully passed a fracking ban with an autonomous grassroots campaign. Monterey County has a higher percentage of registered Democrats than Santa Barbara County, but also produces more oil and faced similar opposition funding.

The vote reflected sharp demographic and regional divides in the county (see Figure 25). Overall, thirty-nine percent of voters were in support, comprised largely of students and residents of the city of Santa Barbara. Nearly eighty percent of voters in North County, largely Latinxs and conservative leaning white voters, were against the measure compared to forty percent in South County. These results were also affected by epically low voter turn out.

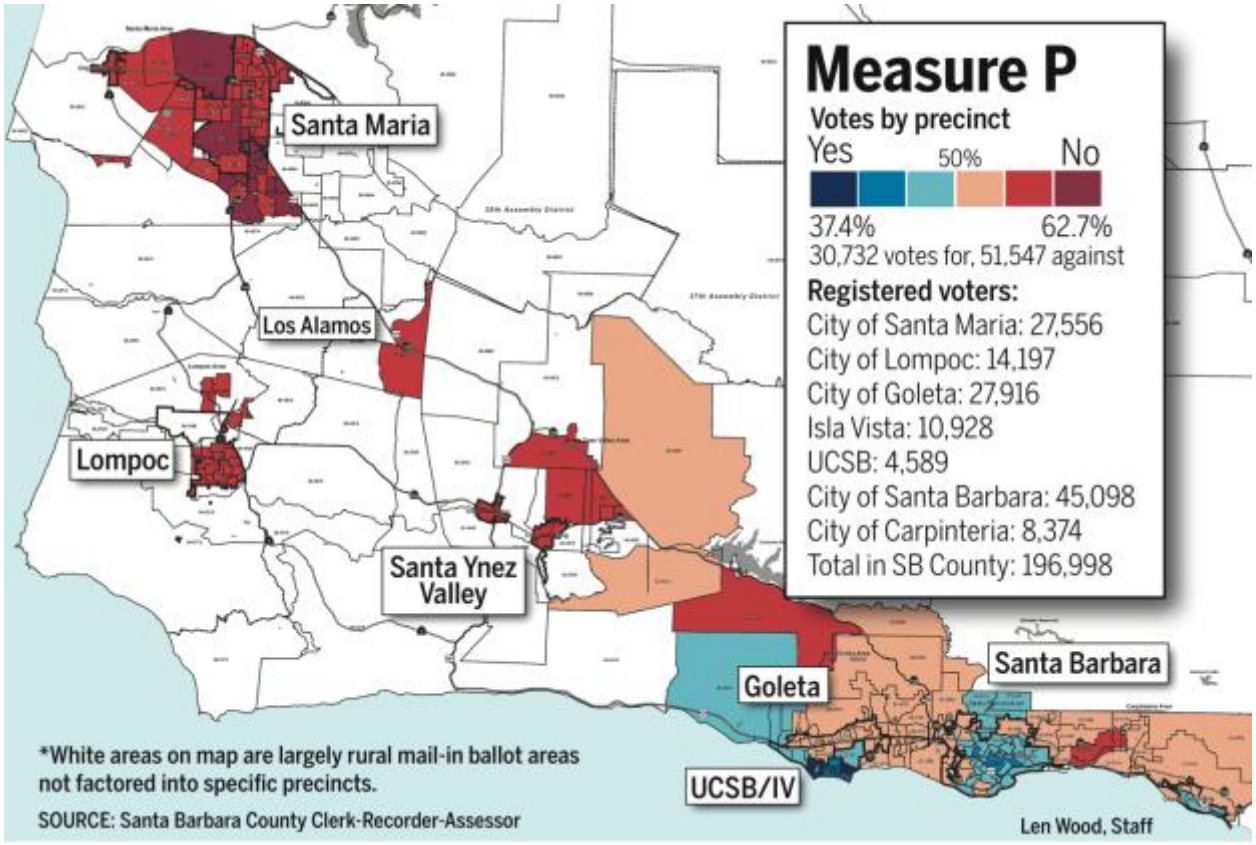

Figure 25. Measure P election results. Image courtesy of The Santa Barbara Independent.

Low voter turnout is common during mid-term elections because these elections lack the surge in interest and information, which translates into more voter turnout, that presidential elections spur (Campbell 1987). In Santa Barbara County, only fifty-eight percent of

registered voters cast votes on Measure P. Nationwide, it was the lowest voter turnout in seventy-two years; 36.4 percent of eligible voters (Alter 2014) and only 19.9 percent of eighteen to twenty-nine year olds voted (The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement). Some reasons for this low voter and low young voter turnout include more restrictive voting laws, a lack of competitive races, and lack of outreach to young voters (see The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement). In Santa Barbara, voters cannot register to vote on election day and the 2014 gubernatorial election, where incumbent Jerry Brown won sixty percent of the vote, was not competitive. These factors may help explain why UCSB students and Isla Vista, California residents, the strongest supporters of Measure P, with eighty percent yes votes, had only fifteen percent voter turnout.

Post-Measure P Outcomes

Though Measure P failed, it represents an impressive example of grassroots mobilization, particularly in the signature-gathering phase. With more preparation time, less opposition from the oil industry, the *Santa Barbara Independent*, and county staff, and greater voter turnout, the results may have been different. While heads of established environmental organizations in Santa Barbara feared the defeat would be a setback for local environmental politics, these fears did not materialize.

In spring 2015, the Santa Barbara County Board of Supervisors approved the state's most stringent carbon emissions levels for oil projects and funded a feasibility study for community choice aggregation, which could increase renewable energy in the county. In

November 2016, the board rejected an oil project that had much stricter controls than the Santa Maria Energy Project, described above, which the same board *approved* in 2013. In the 2016 election, former environmental attorney Joan Hartmann won the contentious Third District Supervisor seat, which straddles North and South County, maintaining a three to two progressive majority on the Board of Supervisors. Her opponent, Bruce Porter, received over $60,000 in funding from energy producers.

Positive energy outcomes occurred in other locations as well. In the 2014 and 2016 elections, there were multiple ballot and legislative efforts to ban fracking throughout the United States. New York State banned fracking in 2014. With the addition of Monterey County, California had six counties that have banned fracking by the end of 2016. Monterey County's "Measure Z" is more restrictive than Measure P, banning intensive techniques, wastewater injection, and *all* future conventional wells. In 2017, core members of 350 Santa Barbara were considering a new campaign, this time with the goal of convincing the three progressive County Supervisors to vote an anti-fracking measure into law, rather than sending it to voters.

In summary, Measure P began as a grassroots effort that relied on relational and horizontal organizing. These tactics changed with leadership by the Democratic Party. Party organizing foreclosed possibilities for creativity and spontaneity, which, even at the beginning of the effort, when it was still controlled by the grassroots, were tactics that received little support from established environmental organizations. Established organizations faulted the campaign for not having built prior relationships with established environmental groups, people in power, and representatives of labor and public safety groups. In contrast, most grassroots activists identified their main weakness in not having

built relationships with Latinxs. Max Golding said that if he could go back in time to when he co-founded 350 Santa Barbara, which started the Measure P campaign, "first ... we would've said, 'What do we want this movement to look like?' It would've been a more deliberate question and ... we all would've said, 'We want Latinos, we want this to actually represent who the fuck lives here and we would have talked to [Latino organizations].'" The power of the oil industry to spread doubt and draw on its long presence in the political economy of the area also inhibited identification and communication of common values between South County activists concerned about climate change and North County residents and Latinxs fearful of losing jobs and tax revenues. Had they maintained their grassroots organizing structure, Measure P proponents may have been more successful communicating their strongest message—the risks of fracking—to key constituencies, even in the short timeframe of the campaign.

In the remainder of this chapter, I present a comparative analysis of these cases to shed light on the factors that facilitated and inhibited working across lines.

KEY DIFFERENCES

The megaload and Measure P campaigns took place in vastly different settings—one along rural Idaho highways and in Idaho political circles with very little experience interacting with oil corporations, the other in diverse agricultural and tourist cities in a county that has been producing oil for over a century. Living in Idaho, it is easy to forget about fossil fuels beyond trips to the gas station. Living in Santa Barbara County, oil has a constant presence. Derricks dot the ocean and agricultural horizons that most people see on a weekly basis. A clear view

of Platform Holly troubles me on a daily basis—every time I walk to my front door. The presence and power of oil in these places is important in countering the weight of stereotypically friendly and unfriendly environmental politics in both states.

Figure 26. A deserted Highway 12, November 2015.

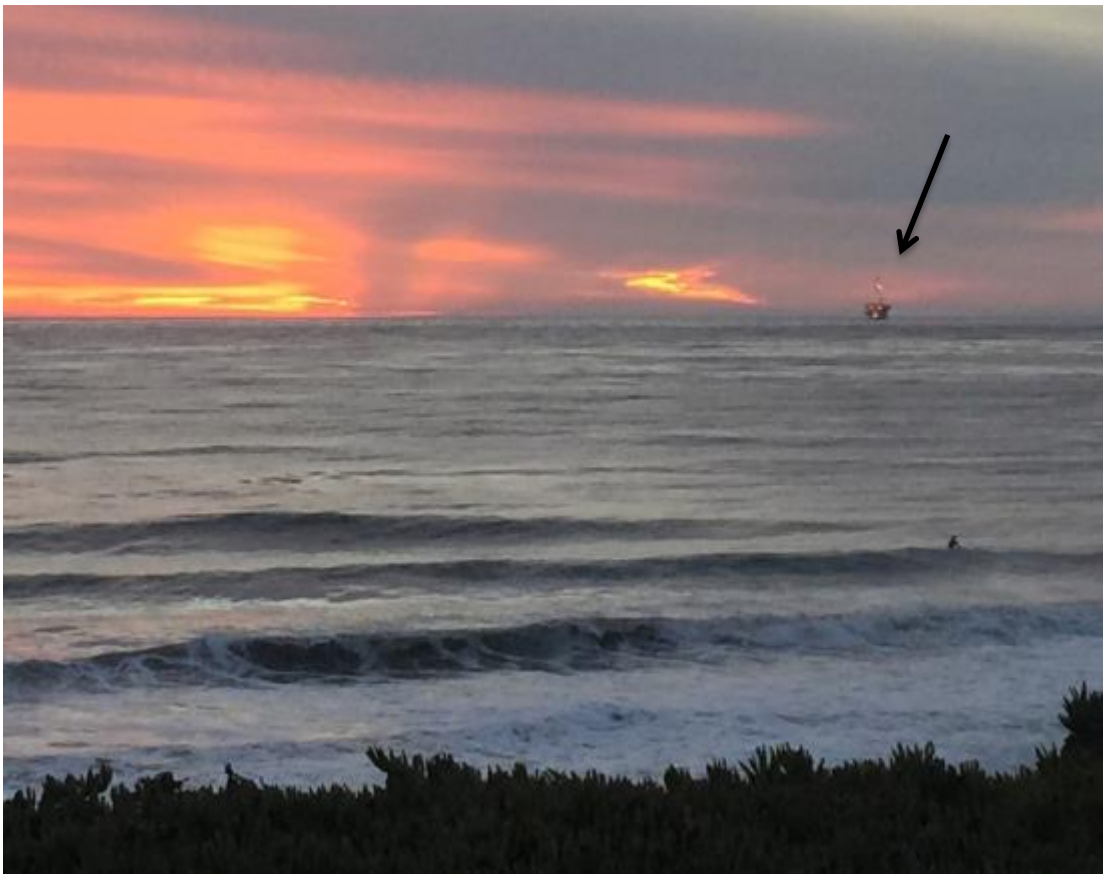

Figure 27. Platform Holly disrupting a sunset.

While Santa Barbara County, and California more generally, have progressive environmental protections,[176] the entrenched power of oil and the resulting regulatory capture—which Becca Claassen's excerpt in the previous section highlights—make it a difficult place to challenge oil corporations. During Measure P, there was a sense among a sizable portion of the population that oil production is heavily regulated in the county, which makes it relatively safe, that it provides high wage jobs, and that it supports local taxes. No on Measure P arguments that inflated the numbers of jobs and taxes that the industry

[176] Media regularly hail California Governor Jerry Brown as a climate hero. See Alexander (2015) for an example that highlights some of California's best environmental policies. Despite this, Brown continues to support fracking.

provides, and incorrectly stated that the measure would shut down all onshore oil production sought to create fear that the county's beneficial relationship with oil would come to an end. The intimate relationship that the county has with oil made it more difficult for activists to portray the oil companies as inherently evil, a feeling that, in contrast, was common among Idaho interviewees. The Yes on Measure P campaign, for example, specifically exempted existing oil operations from the measure. Megaloads opponents were less willing to compromise.

As protest signs like "Megaloads of Death" demonstrate, megaload protesters had clear ideas about the moral implications of megaloads, ideas that they stated publicly. In their view, these were fundamentally wrong and not benefitting anyone, certainly not Idahoans. Thus, unlike in Santa Barbara, where activists tried to appease the local energy economy by exempting existing operations, megaload protesters publicly opposed all elements of the megaloads. Their lack of dependence on oil corporations helped them overcome a political environment that is friendly to industry and hostile to environment protections (see chapter three and five for information on how Idaho policies welcome the natural gas industry).[177] The clarity of their message also attracted widespread support, as Borg Hendrickson explained, "one motivator for doing something like this is the growing sense of indignity, the lack of justice ... and I have to make this right, I just must make this right, this is so wrong, you just build that sense."

[177] A 2017 ranking of states that make it easy for corporations to procure clean energy ranks Idaho as 48th (Retail Industry Leaders Association, Information Technology Industry Council, and Clean Edge 2017).

This context also contributed to Idahoans' feelings that industry was encroaching on their way of life and to their capacity to imagine disastrous accidents,[178] drawing from accounts they had heard of in other locations. Tina Fisher, voicing her fears in relation to natural gas development in Idaho, expressed this widely-held value about the quality of life:

> On our day off, if we want to sit on the back porch and watch the world go by, we should be able to do that instead of having to wonder, well, what's in the air that I'm breathing? ... I cannot imagine how helpless those people feel in Pennsylvania and other parts of the country [with fracking] where their kids wake up in the middle of the night with bloody noses. And the kids can't play outside.

In Santa Barbara, people had coexisted with oil for decades and though they were familiar with disasters in the form of two oil spills, these never directly harmed human health. Their imaginations of disaster then, based on actual events, are likely devastating for sea life, but not for people.

The meaning of quality of life was heavily informed by interviewees' connection to place. This connection was a powerful force in individual and organizational collaborations. When I asked Meryl Kastin why she cared about the megaload issue, the first thing she said was, "You've driven the road [Hwy 12]?" In an excerpt illustrating the Nez Perce's particular connection to the more-than-human world, Lucinda Simpson, a Nez Perce elder, explained:

> The nontribal don't see the importance of these things [strong voice, emotion laden], but the eel is a part of the food chain, if we didn't have that eel there, the fish wouldn't get fed and we wouldn't have our natural omega vitamins and fish oil and so forth ... and there used to be about 29 different roots that we had here on this reservation and we are down to about seven.

These excerpts also illustrate a shared sense that the areas disrupted by the megaloads had to be protected as commons, as wild and ancestral lands that belong to the public. The

[178] See on Bhadra (2013) on disaster scripting.

wilderness of Idaho belongs to the public, in Idaho and beyond, and the Nez Perce reservation belongs to the Nez Perce. Jeannie McHale alluded to this feeling:

> I just love Idaho. That was another emotional aspect of the megaloads, was that they were just, [heavy emotion] they were just such an affront to our beautiful state.... it deserves to be protected by everybody because we have a lot of land that belongs to everybody.

Santa Barbara activists could not draw on the notion of the commons as land[179] to the same extent. The majority of onshore oil extraction in the county takes place on private lands and out of sight of most residents. For most Santa Barbara interviewees, many of whom were relatively transient as students, sense of place was not a salient motivation for their activism.

In all communities where I conducted research in Idaho, sense of place was a critical motivator. As I explain in chapter five, interviewees in southwest Idaho were often motivated by a threat to their home and then expanded their concern to larger areas. This resonated with Helen Yost, who reflected "People are NIMBY, you've got to admit they are, but if that's what it takes. You know there is nothing wrong with defending your place ... I mean that's the only thing you can really feel anything for anyways, your own place, be it a region, which is how we tend to look ... or a road." [180] To borrow from Geertz, "no one lives in the world in general" (1996:262). Interviewees throughout Idaho had moved there or choose to live in the

[179] The atmosphere and water, however, are other commons that activists in both places work to protect.

[180] As I argue in chapter five, interviewees' reasons for resisting natural gas development are more complicated than just protecting their back yards. I show that they are both more than NIMBY activists and that NIMBYism is not always a negative form of activism. See chapter two, footnote twenty-five for a discussion of NIMBYism. While NIMBYism has been associated with efforts by privileged white communities to keep toxic infrastructure out of their backyards, with little concern for the people of color communities who suffer from this infrastructure, scholars and activists are increasingly thinking about how NIMBYism can be a springboard for justice-oriented activism that seeks to protect everyone's backyard from toxic materials.

state for reasons that emphasized the natural environment. “We moved to Idaho thinking that clean air, clean water, you know” (Alma Hasse). “We love the area, we are of the area ... [our kids and grandkids] love the place, the rivers” (Lin Laughy and Borg Hendrickson). When Sherry Gordon moved from Humboldt County, California to Idaho, she told her friends, “It’s gorgeous there [in Idaho].” Rod Barklay, who I interviewed in Sandpoint, Idaho, took his first backpacking trip when he was eight or nine years old in the Selway-Bitterroot Wilderness of Idaho. In his sixties at the time of our interview, his love of wilderness grew throughout his life, informing his support of activist groups like Wild Idaho Rising Tide.

Like Rod, many interviewees in central and northern Idaho drew on notions of protecting places in their account of their participation in the megaload campaign. Their connection to place had a particular quality. As Lin Laughy, who had lived in the Lewiston, Idaho area since 1948 explained, “it’s a sense of place. You are involved if you are emotionally and spiritually involved with your place and [when] somebody wants to come in and trample it, then you get upset.” Helen’s whole journey into climate justice activism and her connection with Idaho grew from her previous connection to Alaska, where she lived in the 1980s. The Exxon Valdez spill in Alaska in 1989 sparked her activism:

> [The Exxon Valdez spill] broke my heart and it was the first time I have ever grieved. Like here I found this remote beautiful wild place, lived in this little tiny fishing town ... to find a wild place like that and to know it over the course of, I don’t know, five to eight years, and then to just have it be totally trashed by the oil company, it just tore my heart out.

Her grief at the destruction of a place she loved spurred her to dedicate her life to activism when Exxon once again “pointed their headlights” at her special place, which, in the 2000s, was northern Idaho. “You are not going to ruin a second wild place on me. Like I could not

bear it, and you guys [Exxon] still owe me for the last time around ... so I just jumped right in. I guess it was sort of a personal vendetta" (Helen Yost).

Nez Perce interviewees had deep connections to place—their ancestors had lived on the land the megaloads threatened. The Heart of the Monster, where the Nez Perce people come from, is located just a few hundred yards from Highway 12. The megaloads also, by supporting extreme energy extraction, exacerbated the threats that climate change poses for the Nez Perce. Paulette Smith explained that climate change was "affecting how we are going to survive, or how we're going to exist, simply." Lucinda Simpson continued Paulette's point:

> We haven't had our normal seasons for the Indian people. Our foundation is built on water, the Nez Perce tribal people used to drink water first thing, first thing they would get up in the morning they would have a cup of water .... And that water is not clean any longer. We have cattle grazing too close to our waters now, they are getting in our streams, nothing is being done about that or has been done about that, especially on the reservation, for years. We of course, our snow, our food chains, our gathering chains have all changed. The heat has damaged many of our roots and our berries and of course our fish. And the dryness and the heat has caused these fires in our areas and we are probably going to be seeing a lot of dead trees and more fires, a lot of trees limbs will be falling off these trees when it starts to freeze, this winter, we are going to see a lot of damage.

Lucinda saw the megaloads as just one more threat to the Nez Perce way of life, a way of life tied to the land, plants, and animals that shape Nez Perce culture. These connections paralleled the sentiments of Michael Cordero, an elder in the Chumash community in Santa Barbara County, California who had grown up in Santa Barbara. His resistance to extreme energy extraction was informed by the fact that energy companies had long disturbed places that the Chumash consider sacred.

Non-native Idaho-based interviewees also drew on long-term attachment to place in their resistance to extreme energy and other forms of resource extraction. Shelley, a non-

native activist in southwest Idaho, highlighted the importance of history in a place when she explained that her daughter's great-great-grandparents had homesteaded in Eagle, Idaho. "A lot of people lived there [in Eagle] for generations.... That this now [natural gas development] could wreck everything that 150 years of history you know, it's just, it's just so unjust" (Shelley Brock). Cass Davis, who was a fifth-generation timber worker (working in a sawmill for a period after high school) and had been involved in many environmental and social justice campaigns before the megaloads explained,

> I knew that logging had fucked up my hunting and fishing back in the [Silver] Valley and places I knew, that it destroys cutthroat habitat. I knew all this stuff and it wasn't because I went to college, it was because I fish and I hunted and you can see. And as many people as I hung around who were loggers ... all of them would say, "Oh it [logging] doesn't hurt anything, we've been doing this for years," and I am like, "How in the fuck can you figure that?" I mean I grew up just like them, been raised the same way ... I seen all the trees disappear, I seen the crick [creek] used to run here, and now dries up completely during the summertime. "How in the fuck can you say that this doesn't hurt anything? What the hell is wrong with you guys?" And so, it wasn't hard to get me involved [in activism].... The timber industry hated me for it because I wasn't a guy from back east, I wasn't a hippie, I wasn't their stereotype. I was salt of the earth Idaho and I was saying no, this is stupid, we don't need to cut these.

Thus, for white Idahoans, Nez Perce individuals, and a few California-based interviewees, attachment to place played a key role in their activism. Throughout Idaho, it was common for interviewees to ask me if I had been to the places they spoke about. In parallel to the toxic tour that I took with Alma in southern Idaho,[181] upon her suggestion, Helen and I drove along the megaload routes. As we drove, she pointed out where she had

[181] On her toxic tours, Alma showed me natural gas wells, where the gas lines went directly under a popular swimming spot in the river, how roads were deteriorating because of truck traffic related to natural gas development, and where, if you were to slide out on a corner while driving on icy winter roads, you could easily hit natural gas pipes sticking out of the ground. "Toxic tours" are a way for community groups to increase public awareness of environmental injustices. Communities for a Better Environment, based in California, gives these tours regularly: http://www.cbecal.org/get-involved/toxic-tours/.

been arrested and where the trees had been trimmed to make room for the loads. There were few suggestions among Santa Barbara interviewees to visit particular places. Indeed, Santa Barbara interviewee Katie Davis explained how her intense dedication to activism came from concern about climate change, not the environment: "I want clean water and clean air. But I wouldn't like devote my life to it.... if climate change wasn't an issue, that [environmental issues] wouldn't be where I'd spend all my time." The climate crisis, rather than a sense of attachment to a particular place, was Katie's main motivation. This characterizes the motivations of many youth interviewees in Santa Barbara as well. As students, they were temporary residents; they rarely expressed connection to Santa Barbara as a motivator.[182]

Another important point of difference between the megaload and Measure P campaigns was the immediacy of the threat. Megaloads were truly humongous, brilliantly lit pieces of machinery that traveled through downtowns and on roads in front of people's homes. Their presence was new and stunning, inspiring people to take a stand. In Santa Barbara, in contrast, the daily visibility of oil infrastructures likely desensitized residents to the threat. The oil rigs are also not in your face—they are visible in the distance and away from homes, shining like diamonds at night, nothing like a megaload next to your favorite coffee shop.

Finally, the strategies employed in these campaigns played a large role in shaping activists' experiences and capacity to engage in the type of organizing they desired. As a ballot measure, Measure P had a shorter timeline than many legal suits, and, since proponents started so much later than is customary, the timeline was even shorter. From start to finish,

[182] Some of these students expressed connection to their home places—where they grew up and where they still spend holidays and summers with their families.

Measure P was about an eleven-month campaign. The megaload campaign went on for seven years and while it is unlikely Hwy 12 will ever be at risk again as a megaload route, other highways still lack protection. Megaload proponents had a lot more time to work on their relationships than did the proponents of Measure P. There was more time for a large and not necessarily coordinated network to develop organically as more and more people became concerned about the issue and used different methods to challenge the loads. People were literally "popping up" (Helen Yost) everywhere and across state lines. In contrast, proponents of Measure P had one centralized group and message that oil companies could focus their opposition on.

KEY SIMILARITIES

Despite the differences I outline above, the megaload and Measure P campaigns had significant commonalities. These were rooted in the nature of resistance to extreme energy extraction. This dissertation argues that people resist fossil fuels primarily for the risks they pose to various types of commons—lands, air, water, climate, and community. Not every campaign can appeal to all forms of these commons, but each can appeal to at least one. Organizers in these campaigns and across my research sites noted how these issues had capacity to draw new people to the movement and to cross demographics. The following excerpt from Hazel Davalos was typical: "The grassroots energy behind the [Measure P] campaign, it really brought out a lot of relatively new faces, it wasn't like the usual suspects ... it really started to galvanize an environmental kind of network that I didn't really see here [in Santa Maria, CA] before that."

Perceived threats created a sense of emergency among interviewees in both states, leading them to draw parallels with WWII. Sharon Cousins, while understanding why some people could not protest at 2 a.m. against the megaloads, because of having to wake up for work, nonetheless felt that the megaloads, when fully understood, were an emergency that demanded action from everyone. "I can only think [people who didn't protest] just don't really understand that [the megaloads] are—it's like if you lived in some town in Europe and had trucks loaded with supplies to build the gas chambers at Auschwitz going through your town ... if you really see what is going on, you can't not take a stand" (Sharon Cousins). Katie Davis had a similar perspective about climate change that inspired her to start organizing in her community of Goleta, California. She had just seen Al Gore's *Inconvenient Truth* with some German friends. These friends had grandparents in Germany during WWII and a rift had developed in their family about why the grandparents had not done more to challenge Nazism. Katie explained that, after watching the film, her friend "wondered out loud if climate change was going to be something like that for us, something that our kids are going to ask us about—what did we do, why we didn't do more when we still could, you know? I just remember that really hitting home because I had two young kids at the time." Illustrating just how corrupt many megaload interviewees felt their government was—in parallel to CAIA's emphasis on lack of integrity and accountability that I describe in chapter five—Jeannie McHale criticized the Port of Lewiston, which allowed the megaloads to be shipped to Idaho. "They could be hauling dead babies from Nazi concentration camps," said Jeannie. "The Port of Lewiston would welcome them in and use Idaho taxpayer dollars to fill the potholes in the road after they've passed through." Jeannie emphasized how the state of Idaho was not only willing to let horrendous practices happen, but was also happy to use

public resources to subsidize these practices—to subsidize corporate profits at the expense of people and the planet. Sense of emergency for people and/or the planet is like a river all activists are dunked into or tap into at some point in their journey.

The shared values underlying both campaigns inform another important similarity. These values did not simply disappear when Measure P failed and when the federal ruling barred the megaloads. Having brought people together who had not worked together before, these values laid the groundwork for future collaboration. Thus, both efforts enabled movement building that made communities stronger and ready to organize together on other issues. The megaload campaign strengthened the coalition that, upon the conclusion of that effort, worked to remove the lower four Snake River dams for the well-being of salmon and other fish, ecosystems, and the Nez Perce. "It brought a lot of people together that hadn't known each other before and then found out that they shared this interest in protecting the planet. ... so it built long-lasting friendships and ... continued effort" (Jeannie McHale). "In a really screwy way," explained Brett Haverstick, "the greed of and destruction of the Alberta tar sands and the megaloads strengthened local communities." In Santa Barbara County, Rebecca August used the skills and networks she developed during Measure P to form a new group, Safe Energy Now. They began organizing in the city of Buellton, where little activism on energy issues existed before Measure P. Janet Blevins's efforts to raise awareness about Measure P in the city of Lompoc led her to build many friendships and become active in groups like the NAACP and League of Women Voters, with whom she has continued to organize long after 2014. The momentum of these campaigns then, kept flowing in different forms as activists continued to rely on the relationships that they built or strengthened while working together.

With these differences and similarities in mind, the following section considers interviewee's best practices for working across lines.

REFLECTIONS ON WORKING ACROSS LINES: BEST PRACTICES

Engaging in these struggles equipped interviewees with ideas about how to be more effective in future efforts. Their reflections contained insights for working across lines. Some developed their ideas throughout decades of organizing and in consultation with political philosophy. Others had just begun to develop their theories, drawing on what went well and what did not go well in their latest organizing experience. Prioritizing diversity and inclusivity of participants, tactics, strategies, and motivations was common and important for success. To achieve diversity and inclusivity, interviewees advocated bringing stakeholders together—"convening a table"—and working in a horizontal fashion. The legal success of the megaloads and the electoral failure of Measure P provide evidence for the utility of these methods. In this section, organized by theme, I draw on evidence and perspectives grounded in both campaigns to discuss methods for effective organizing.

Convene a Table and Keep It Horizontal

Tables are a common metaphor in organizing. The question of who is at the table is of prime concern. As detailed in the previous chapter, maintaining a seat at the table of power is a goal of some groups. Daraka Larimore-Hall, Chair of the Santa Barbara Democratic Party, explained that convening a coalition through the "model of tables" was one thing he would have done differently in the Measure P campaign:

> I'm a big fan of the sort of model of tables, of convening coalitions.... You've got to have stakeholders at the table, you've got to get some buy-in. So what I would have preferred was ... let's get the EDC [Environmental Defense Center] and the Sierra Club and other environmental groups together with some labor folks ... and some of our electeds [elected officials], the Democratic Party. Let's sit around the table with the folks that were driving the issue ... and talk about what we'd like to achieve.

Interviewees agreed that convening tables with stakeholders was important. There was, however, disagreement about which stakeholders most deserved to be at the table, especially in terms of the power that they had, and how they conducted themselves once there.[183] When 350 Santa Barbara was a new group, it had to work to understand what tables existed in Santa Barbara and how to have a seat. Becca Claassen and Colin Loustalot, two cofounders of the group, "crashed" a local environmental coalition meeting together as their first meeting. Across my research sites, new grassroots and radical groups had had experiences of not receiving invitations to tables, or, once there, did not feel like their voices were heard.

In Santa Barbara, tensions between grasstops or established organizations—many of the groups that Daraka mentions above—and the grassroots proponents of Measure P, known as the Santa Barbara County Water Guardians (hereafter Water Guardians[184]), were grounded in the Water Guardians not having invited the grasstops to the table early enough. In Dave Davis's words, Measure P "came blowing out of the ground" without convening a table beforehand. While many of the grasstops groups were slow to endorse, they did so when the initiative qualified for the ballot. Because the Water Guardians did not decide to attempt the

[183] There is also the question of defining stakeholders. People who are not in groups are also stakeholders—everyone is a stakeholder in climate change. Yet individuals who are not part of a group are rarely invited to tables, both because of difficulties identifying who these folks might be and because of a lack of preexisting relationships (whether individual or group level) of trust.

[184] The Water Guardians were composed of 350 Santa Barbara and a broader base of individuals.

ballot measure until February 2014 (and had until May 2014 to gather 13,200 signatures of registered voters), there was little time to convene a table. If the Water Guardians had convened a table with the grasstops groups ahead of time, they would have been advised by grasstops groups, as they were advised at later stages, not to attempt the initiative. According to representatives of the grasstops groups, it was too late, the wrong year, and too hard. Most did not think the signature effort would succeed. Thus, there would have been an impasse if a "table" had been convened before 2014. As I highlight above, the Water Guardians felt a tremendous urgency to go forward with the effort, so it is unlikely they would have changed their minds.

In terms of outcome, getting grasstops to the table earlier in the campaign may have helped Measure P secure funding earlier, which could have allowed more effective spending. However, in grassroots activists' view, the real problem was not having convened a table with representatives of conservative and Latinx communities in North County, as well as other groups like public safety and labor unions. Note that Daraka did not mention conservative, Latinx, social justice groups, or student groups in his advice about convening a table. His omission of these sectors of the community does not mean that Daraka and representatives of the environmental community did not recognize the importance of building relationships with these groups—other parts of their interviews illustrate that they clearly did. What his omission does illustrate is which groups do and do not immediately come to mind when grasstops organizations in Santa Barbara think about beginning a campaign. In other words, it illustrates the priority groups to invite to the table. As Daraka went on to say, about the table strategy, "it's not perfect and ... can end up being kind of elitist ... but I think it is a necessary component of progressive politics." Indeed, my interviews and fieldwork

demonstrate that having a relatively powerless seat at an elite table characterized grassroots activists' experiences during Measure P, which eventually convened a table of elite environmental organizations and the Democratic Party, who took control of the campaign.

A good illustration of the character and atmosphere of the table that was eventually convened was the post Measure P meeting. Following the election, proponents gathered around a huge wooden table in a community space in Santa Barbara.[185]

The grassroots originators of the campaign were the minority in the room of forty-one people—twenty-four women and seventeen men, mostly over forty years old. Only two people of color (women) were there. The Measure P campaign manager presented his assessment of the campaign and then individuals gave their feedback. The majority was negative and fearful of the failure's ramifications. One woman said, "I'm not surprised, why were we surprised? It was a bad idea to do this campaign because you lose a lot. It will be harder now." In a gendered comment about how passion is not an effective component of organizing, a man said, "Moving forward on passion without ability to deliver a win is counter productive and actively sets us back." Katie Davis's views represented grassroots activists' sentiments, who felt the effort was a real success in movement building and a necessary step toward addressing climate change. She explained, "The story is that two of three [California fracking] bans won, we have a lot of volunteers. There is a lot of good that came out of it even though we lost. If we wait for it all to be perfect, this planet is not going to be habitable. This requires new things, and not being afraid and mad that people are willing to try new things" (Katie Davis). As most attendees continued to advocate for future narrow focus on keeping local democratic elected officials in power, and using the

[185] This account is based on my notes from the evening, November 18, 2014.

"commodity" of the Water Guardian's email list to this end, Janet Blevins, also a grassroots activist, interjected. Showing the sharp contrast in grassroots' views, she said: "We'll be dead before we get enough [progressive people] elected to make progress on this. We don't have time to build a political elected alliance."

The tensions expressed during this meeting, and the privileged social locations of the people around the table demonstrate that convening a table is not enough. Valuing diversity, inclusivity, and accountability to and leadership by those most affected by a problem—core elements of climate justice—were absent. Those most affected by fossil fuel extraction occurring in Santa Barbara County are people who live close to onshore oil production in North County, the poor and marginalized in Santa Barbara and elsewhere, that are least able to cope with climate change that extraction exacerbates, and the young, who will deal with climate change our entire lives. None of these communities were adequately represented at this meeting. With reference to the Latinx community, Arlo reflected:

> [at the meeting,] it was pointed out that we did a really bad job of reaching out to the Latino community in Santa Barbara ... there was some discussion on this for a while and I'm looking around the room and there is not one person who is Latino sitting in the room and it's kind of like, okay, we saw the mistake and nothing has changed. We are still right where we started, we have horrible representation within the Latino community, horrible outreach to the Latino community, and you know hopefully some of the organizations that were at the meeting have taken steps to change that, but it very much felt like there weren't. So that was something that we did not do very well in the Measure P campaign.[186]

Like Arlo, other activists in 350 Santa Barbara came away from the experience with perspectives emphasizing the need to build relationships with social justice groups in the county and with Latinxs. Largely because of a decrease in core members' availability

[186] The composition of Santa Barbara's environmental organizations in 2017 (see Table 11) confirms Arlo's fears that organizations were doing little to improve Latinx outreach.

because of family and work responsibilities, only a handful of individuals made concrete progress in this area in the following two years. They tried, multiple times, to organize a coalition meeting with representatives from the Latinx community. They spent a year talking about the importance of building a multiracial coalition first, and then deciding what to work on together. In a sense, they felt the need to construct a new table, rather than inviting people to a table they had already created. Implementation of these ideas failed to get off the ground because of capacity and scheduling conflicts. In 2016, however, Standing Rock and the November election of Donald Trump as U.S. president renewed energy and provided events for these relationships to begin and grow.

In the context of the megaload campaign, convening a table looked very different. In Idaho, the grassroots network The Rural People of Highway 12: Fighting Goliath started with Borg Hendrickson, Lin Laughy, and their neighbors. It was supported by larger organizations who worked with them in a horizontal manner. Other groups organized simultaneously in different locations, all with their own approaches to challenging the megaloads.

In Moscow, Idaho, members of the environmental justice task force of the local Unitarian church convened their own type of table in fall 2011, inviting members from local groups to meet to talk about their concerns and how they could collaborate. Many of the core groups who fought the megaloads attended the meeting, where people talked for hours. Pat Rathmann remembered, "people that hadn't ever talked to each other were talking to each other and it was so exciting." A new group, Palouse Environmental Sustainability Coalition (PESC), formed during the meeting to serve as a network: "Any member of a group that wants to participate in PESC can join PESC. So individual groups don't lose their identity and all individual members of those groups don't have to be part of PESC. We are a very

kind of a loose knit organization" (Pat Rathmann). Rather than creating one group to control the campaign, as occurred with Measure P, groups followed their own strategies. This created conflict, as when organizations working on legal and administrative angles asked the direct action group Wild Idaho Rising Tide not to protest on Highway 12, but was, overall, quite effective at involving many different grassroots constituencies who maintained their autonomy.

Part of this horizontal framework emphasized relationships, drawing on each person or group's particular skills and recognizing that everyone has something to contribute. This characterized the megaload campaign and the initial stages of Measure P. Rebecca August, who, following Measure P, started her own group where she worked to build on group members' "special powers," explained how she had been inspired by the horizontal grassroots energy when Measure P began: "It's empowering to connect with people and realize that it's just really about doing it and caring about it. ... they [the people she worked with to collect signatures] didn't know anything more about anything really ... nobody has any special information or skills or whatever. I mean, everybody has skills, but they're—you know, it's not a special person that it takes [to be an activist]" (Rebecca August). Samantha Smith echoed this view while reflecting on the megaloads: "You can work together and accomplish more if you have people that have different experiences. ... [it] is nothing but positive. You may not always agree, but ... you get to see another side of something that ... opens your eyes to other things."

Relationships, and therefore people's capacity to leverage each other's skills, multiply when campaigns are organized horizontally. In Santa Barbara during Measure P, the Water Guardians employed what Han (2014) calls an "organizer model" where they prioritized

leadership empowerment among many people. Leadership happened at different levels. For example, core members of 350 Santa Barbara took on "team leader" positions where they coordinated signature collection for an area of the county. This was above and beyond the responsibilities that many had taken on up to that point. On the other hand, people who might just come to events or read newsletters took on the responsibility of collecting signatures, perhaps a type of leadership in the eyes of their friends and family members who were not involved in the initiative. In this type of organizing, relationship building comes to the fore as a group goal. The Water Guardians were keen to build relationships for a variety of reasons. These included people power, funding, media, and political and community leverage. While a few people had been engaged in this type of work all along, during the signature gathering phase, this work was more distributed than ever because of the nature of signature gathering. I, for example, went to more community events and built more relationships than I ever had before. These relationships paid off, literally and figuratively. One couple I connected with at a dance event that I attended for the purpose of collecting signatures became substantial financial backers of the campaign and future efforts.

Hazel Davalos, Organizing Director for Central Coast United for a Sustainable Economy (CAUSE), also prioritized movement building through distributed leadership development, which she had learned from the United Farm Workers movement. Her organization worked to inspire people to host house meetings and invite their neighbors. They would then all discuss their concerns and develop a plan of action. Hazel found this to be a very effective model among working-class Latinxs in northern Santa Barbara County, which suggests that Measure P may have been more successful if it had continued its horizontal organizing style for the entire campaign.

A final core component of effective relational organizing that interviewees highlighted was trust. This could be on an individual and organizational level. On the individual level, building a sense of trust and community is critical to motivating people (Gary Macfarlane) and working together: "I think realistically building the trust, getting the support of the people, the group of people, like the tribal membership, that's really the important point of doing anything" (Julian Matthews). The Nez Perce willingness to trust white allies during the megaload blockade in August 2013 was vital to megaload protesters' fond memories of the campaign and to their continuing relationships. As Leontina Hormel explained, "the way Nez Perce people are treated in the Clearwater basin by non-tribal on average, certainly for them to trust allies is a huge gesture, that in and of itself is pretty profound." Trust is also necessary to ensure that no one micromanages anyone else. With trust, "there tends to become less of a need to micromanage because you learn to let certain parts of the campaign go, because you trust that individuals are going to do the work that the coalition is striving towards" (Brett Haverstick). This type of trust was very difficult to foster in the hierarchically organized campaign structure of Measure P, where a few people made decisions. Phone banking scripts and pre-planned neighborhood walking packets (used in Measure P) are ways in which traditional political campaigns efficiently micro-manage all of their volunteers.

On the organizational level, trust increased the power of organizations. In Santa Barbara County, during election season, CAUSE appealed to the trust it built year-round in the community. It was not, in Hazel Davalos' words, an organization or campaign that "parachutes" into a community during elections. Instead, it worked each year to educate all voters, especially those who had not voted before, and to engage in community development.

This, explained Hazel, was very different than most political campaigns, which tend to focus on "low hanging fruit, the people who are the most frequent voters." "You can't fault them for that," said Hazel, "I mean that's strategic, it's like you have limited resources, and limited time.... But that's when Spanish speakers, low-frequency voters, newly registered voters, are getting left by the wayside." CAUSE's nonprofit (501(c)(3)) and political action (501(c)(4)) designation allowed it to "do year-long work and develop relationships and accountability within the community" that then transitioned into support for political candidates or ballot measures. Hazel explained how this benefited CAUSE's ability to influence the community:

> We can say, "Hey, I am the person that fought to get that bus in your neighborhood last year, we are supporting this measure because it will be best, it is the best for our neighborhood," and that can go a long way, particularly I think in today's age of distrust of government.... If a community organization that has a track record of doing good work in the community tells you to vote for somebody, it's a little bit more effective [than being told who or what to vote for by a political party or candidate]."

The lack of trust in political parties and government that Hazel alludes to parallels the sentiments of members of CAIA in southwest Idaho, who avoided political labels like Democrat or Republican. In these cases and beyond, interviewees felt that organizations that were accountable to the communities they served, for the long-term, would be most able to secure benefits for the community. Hazel's comments also illustrate how relational organizing,[187] rather than organizing based on conventional understandings of what is politically strategic or expedient, was necessary for creating inclusive and diverse politics, for getting new or marginalized people to engage—the very people who are most likely to support progressive politics. CAUSE's success in this regard is evidenced by the fact that the

[187] Relational organizing is facilitated by horizontal organizing structures, but not equivalent. Rather than referring to structure, it refers to the character of groups—emphasizing the importance of relationships for the wellbeing of individual activists and their groups (see chapter six for an expanded discussion on relational organizing).

organization's Executive Director and entire ten-person staff at the time of our interview were people of color. It also has a strong youth presence in its work, organized in the youth committee, which has spearheaded a number of successful local campaigns (see the group's Facebook page for photos and videos of these: https://www.facebook.com/cause805/).

So far, I have discussed horizontal and relational organizing as important elements of successful campaigns. Convening tables composed of stakeholders with varying levels of power, and creating campaigns where many individuals and organizations could lead, was a goal of the majority of interviewees. Building long-term trust and relationships were some of the most effective ways to accomplish this goal. In the following section, I examine commitment to diversity and inclusivity as another core component of building powerful social movements.

Commitment to Diversity and Inclusivity

Diversity and inclusivity was something that grassroots activists prioritized and that many interviewees felt was a possible and important feature of resistance to extreme energy extraction. Motivations, definitions of success, tactics, and participants were all facets of diversity that groups engaged with and tried to enhance. Motivations ranged from environmental values, quality of life, safety, climate change, climate justice, integrity and accountability, and most commonly, an underlying sense of injustice. Success for some meant legal and political victories, while for others, staying true to climate justice ideals, inspiring new supporters, and building grassroots power were all "successes." Tactics ranged from theatre, occupation of space, letters to the editors, Facebook page managing, court

cases, ballot measures, house meetings, and film screenings (and many more). The majority of interviewees, especially those not employed by an environmental or political organization, continually stressed that all forms of engagement make a difference and should be respected.

A few identified direct action as a tactic that is particularly undervalued. In a comment that clarifies why different approaches should be respected, and relates to the Santa Barbara Water Guardians' decision to forego heavy investment in coalition building before beginning Measure P because of the urgency of climate change, Cass Davis defended the tactics employed by Earth First!. Cass did not participate in monkey wrenching, but was involved with Earth First!'s Cove Mallard Campaign that took place in Idaho forests in the 1990s. One of his roles was to try to explain, to loggers, why Earth First!ers engaged in direct action. To do so, he appealed to "emergency" as something that justified direct action. "[Earth First!ers] are fighting for life, they ain't just out there to screw up your bulldozer for something to do, they actually believe what that bulldozer is doing is destroying that which sustains life itself on this planet" (Cass Davis). Many interviewees were at this point of emergency in their ideas and emotions about climate change and energy extraction. In 2015, Cass felt like his role as an activist was to prepare a planetary hospice for people as climate and social injustices worsened. Helen Yost, Alma Hasse, and Becca Claassen were other interviewees who had reached high levels of emergency, which seemed to give them a heightened level of energy and willingness to sacrifice time with family and personal comforts for activism. Respecting people's tactical decisions in the context of emergency was something they and many other interviewees could identify with.

Respecting tactical choices made within certain political contexts was important too. Idaho activists were continuously aware of how their methods of organizing had to be

different than organizations based in urban areas (e.g. Portland and Seattle) that they worked in coalition with. Helen explained, "Idaho is a hard place to work, I am freaking exhausted ... some of our colleagues [on the west coast] don't like us because we do things different. We have to because it is freaking redneck Idaho and on some level we are recruiting a lot more conservative people than they will ever have to recruit."

Therefore, "there's no silver/magic bullet," "you've got to use all of the tools in the toolbox," and "there's room and a need for many models" were common phrases. These referred to the type, framing, and scale of actions. Sharon Cousins's and Paulette Smith's perspectives exemplify these points:

> Even if you can't stop [megaloads], delay them, it's all good, period. I never try and put down any methods of protesting.... In a suit in front of the White House, that's good. On the train tracks, that's good. I never want to alienate potential allies by going, "Oh my way's better than your way." We have different skills and different talents. (Sharon Cousins)

> I think in reality, our people [the Nez Perce] are waking up, I see more and more people standing up for things and maybe it's not the same thing that I would stand up for, but dang it, they are fighting, and that's what I always hope for. Light a fire—I don't care what you're fighting for, but fight. (Paulette Smith)

Most interviewees aligned with Paulette and Sharon's view. They felt that diversity in the areas of motivations, tactics, and definitions of success increases the power of movements and their capacity to secure multiple forms of success. As I have analyzed these three elements of diversity throughout the dissertation, I now delve into the fourth topic—diversity in participants, whose importance is particularly well illustrated by the megaload and Measure P cases.

Racial/Ethnic Diversity

While both efforts were relatively successful in attracting supporters who were diverse in terms of gender, education, and class, they diverged in their ability to attract members of racial and ethnic minorities. In the megaload case, collaboration with the Nez Perce Tribe was new and effective. It also was something whose strength grew as time went on. In the Measure P case, collaboration with the Latinx community, which made up a much larger segment of the population in comparison to the Nez Perce in Idaho, was not prioritized and not effective. In the aftermath of the measure, there was little evidence of action, on the part of grassroots or grasstops groups, to change this situation. Despite the good intentions and actions of some individuals, a lack of clear progress by entire groups meant that relationships were not built into the structures of organizations, which is critical to sustaining relationships for the long term.

The contrast in sentiments related to multi-racial organizing in these cases is powerfully illustrated in the two excerpts below, one from Dave Davis, the Executive Director of the Santa Barbara Community Environmental Coalition during Measure P, and the other from Brett Haverstick, one of three staff for Friends of the Clearwater, in Moscow, Idaho.

> Environmental communities do NOT connect to the Latino or black communities in the south coast.... We talk about [diversity] all the time, how do you connect with the community? I don't find good connections, I don't find good connections [between the environmental and Latino community]. (Dave Davis)

> In looking at the megaloads, the inclusivity was really unique or special in the fact that it really strengthened relations between Indians and non-Indians ... At the end of the day ... you need racial diversity ... you need youth, you need adults ... when people hear a message coming from a five-year-old girl, ... or a twenty-five-year-old Nimiipuu or Nez Perce tribal member, or a ninety-five-year-old Caucasian, it starts to resonate with people.... People start realizing, "Well heck, there's something really

> big going on here, this is affecting a lot of people and I'm going to look at it, you know, because of that." (Brett Haverstick)

The success and value that megaload protesters placed on diversity of participants was markedly different from the Measure P experience. In Santa Barbara, how to attract people of color to work on environmental and climate issues was, for most interviewees, a challenge they identified as a weakness in the environmental community, which is "super white" (Daraka Larimore-Hall). Dave Davis, who had lived and organized in Santa Barbara for decades, said that in the seventies and eighties, things were different. There was a lot more collaboration between different racial communities in Santa Barbara, something he attributed to personal relationships. These relationships had not been sustained in organizations, leading to the lack of collaboration in the present era that he and so many other interviewees lamented.

In Santa Barbara, interviewees highlighted three main reasons for the lack of collaboration between the environmental and Latinx community: lack of personal connections, lack of immediacy of environmental issues, compared with issues like rent, immigration, and police interactions, and insufficient broad-based grassroots organizing within the Latinx community. Many of these same issues likely informed why there was not large involvement of Chumash tribal members in the Measure P campaign. A few Chumash individuals engaged, and were invited to participate, performing opening ceremonies at fundraisers and events, but no Chumash people or organizations were among the core organizers or group endorsers of the campaign.

Spatial segregation between white and Latinx residents contributed to lack of personal connections, and indeed, during the years leading up to and following Measure P,

the local Latinx community had focused efforts on wages, rent control, farm worker rights, a gang injunction that targeted Latinx youth, and resources for undocumented communities. In Lompoc, Latinxs collaborated with Measure P activist Janet Blevins and the local Democratic Party to help undocumented people obtain drivers' licenses.

In terms of Latinx community organizing, Daraka Larimore-Hall perceived a lack of stable organizations with broad-based Latinx support to collaborate with in South County. Like other interviewees who had been in Santa Barbara for some time, he lamented the weakening of a group called PUEBLO, which had been very strong within the Latinx community of Santa Barbara city. PUEBLO's formation had followed a period when the Latinx and Latinx working-class community, specifically in Santa Barbara, was "under-organized and under-mobilized politically for a long time" (Daraka Larimore-Hall). PUEBLO, however, collapsed and was then absorbed by the regional group CAUSE in 2012. During this period, what Daraka called a "vacuum," two kinds of politics emerged in the Latinx community in South County. One was "business-oriented" and conservative. It was grounded in a group called the Milpas Community Association (MCA), who worked to install a business improvement district (BID) in east Santa Barbara that opponents perceived as a gentrification effort.[188] The other, a group called People Organizing for the Defense of Equal Rights (PODER), was more radical and militant. "There was nothing in between that was sort of like organizing-based, pragmatic, good analysis of power, that PUEBLO was doing and trying to do" (Daraka Larimore-Hall). The gulf between these two wings of the local Latinx community, and a more centrist approach, and especially the gulf between South

[188] See, for example, this statement by PODER, who was opposed to the BID: http://www.edhat.com/site/tidbit.cfm?nid=149426&nc=1

and North County Latinx organizations, is evident in the CAUSE Community Organizing Director, Hazel Davalos's response to a question I asked during our interview:

> Corrie: Do you ever work with PODER...?
>
> Hazel: Sometimes ... we walk an interesting line as an organization, I think particularly out here [Santa Maria] in conservative circles, we are seen as very radical to the left, and by some organizations [likely referring to PODER], we are seen as too mainstream, too moderate, because we actually tell people to vote for candidates. Some people, who have a school of thought that all politicians are corrupt ... are critical of that piece of our work. So we are not able to work with every single group.

The disconnect between Santa Barbara city Latinx groups and the environmental community was made clear during Measure P when a Latina resident of Santa Barbara, Jacqueline Inda, who had taken many of the same stances on local issues as PODER,[189] took money from oil companies to be a spokesperson for No on Measure P. She appeared in No on P ads spreading the message that Measure P would hurt Latinx families.[190] Daraka explained,

> The fact that there is no good antiracist social justice leadership in the local environmental community is one of the factors that allowed that kind of thing to happen.... I'm not singling out the environmental movement as the only culprit there... getting to this bad situation had a lot of authors, a lot of authors, but, it was one of the weird ways that race played a role in the Measure P fight.

To summarize, lack of communication and relationships between the Latinx and environmental community in Santa Barbara, combined with splits within both of these communities, exacerbated barriers like language and clarifying links between social justice and climate change that individual activists struggle with. These divides were clear in the

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[189] See Inda (2015) and Welsh (2015a).

[190] See Inda at .06 in this video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D45TdAk3Jnc. In 2016, she ran for city council to represent Santa Barbara's predominantly Latinx East Side and garnered 255 votes, putting her in 3rd place (Welsh 2015b).

election results, where predominantly Latinx North County communities voted overwhelmingly in opposition to Measure P (see Figure 25 earlier in this chapter).[191]

Within this context, Santa Barbara interviewees had a number of ideas on how to improve diversity. These included being very active as an organization to provide events that people could join in on (Katie Davis), building coalitions with social justice groups (Alex Favacho), and building personal relationships of solidarity by going to racial justice, immigration, and other events or group meetings organized by people of color (Max Golding). Ramping up outreach to the Latinx community in culturally relevant ways, on popular media platforms, and in Spanish was a suggestion offered by the majority of interviewees. The inadequacy of the Spanish outreach on Measure P is illustrated by the fact that I translated the bulk of Yes on P written materials into Spanish. I speak Spanish, but it is not my first language and I have no experience speaking Mexican or Chicano Spanish. A local Peruvian climate activist and a few of my graduate student friends looked over the materials, but there were no local Spanish speakers who played a lead role in the process. A final idea, offered by Hazel Davalos, whose entire organization was mostly composed of working-class people of color, was that white allies hold a special meeting to invite representatives from other groups in to catch them up to speed and hear their ideas.

In Santa Barbara County, models along the lines of Hazel and Alex's suggestions, when combined with good outreach, are likely to be the most effective. As I explain below, these were the methods that worked well in the megaload case. Solutions along the lines of

[191] In predominantly Latinx districts of South County, opposition to Measure P was less extreme than in North County, but still present. For example, Old Town Goleta voted 55.15 percent against Measure P. Opposition to Measure P ranged from 49.48 percent to 57.84 percent on the Eastside of Santa Barbara.

Max Golding's suggestion—that climate and racial justice activists build a table together, is something that many interviewees wanted to do. In practice, however, few had made progress in this area. Max, in fact, was cynical about the feasibility of his own suggestion:

> You just can't, like you can read about ... [diversity], but ... if nobody looks like you within the people that you are [wanting to join]—it's like none of us [350 Santa Barbara] have ever gone to Latino groups, like why would we? It would be really awkward, because there's this cultural bridge, like we are all open-minded enough to where we would be open to it in theory, but none of us ever have or ever will.

Little effort was made by 350 Santa Barbara and the Water Guardians before or after Measure P to attend Latinx group meetings or to coordinate a cohesive group presence at Latinx events (again, individual climate activists attended these events, and sometimes brought group signs, but did not typically attend as a climate/environmental organization). Max and others recognized the reality of low group capacity as a factor in why 350 Santa Barbara did not build a multiracial coalition, but did not see this as an excuse.

This lack of action to build a diverse environmental movement is even starker when examining the 2017 leadership of the grasstops groups in Santa Barbara (see Table 11), who have significantly more resources than 350 Santa Barbara. Also, note the predominance of women as staff and volunteers in these organizations, something that is generally consistent throughout my research.

Table 11. Measure P: Demographic Characteristics of Leadership of Local Environmental Groups and Primary People of Color Organization They Worked With, February 1, 2017

Organization	Total	Men	Women	Potential Person of Color*
Community Environmental Council (Board of Directors, officers and members) – all former leaders of the group were white	10	7	3	1 (10%)
Community Environmental Council (Staff)	9	2	7	2[1] (22%)
Environmental Defense Center (Board of Directors)	15	9	6	0 (0%)
Environmental Defense Center (Staff)	9	2	7	1 (11%)
Santa Barbara Sierra Club Group (Volunteer leadership in 2016)**	10	5	5	2[2] (20%)
Los Padres Group of the Sierra Club, Santa Barbara & Ventura Counties (Candidates for volunteer leaders in 2017)**	8	1	7	0 (0%)
CAUSE Board of Directors	**14**	**8**	**6**	**6 (43%)**
CAUSE Staff	**11**	**4**	**7**	**10 (91%)**

*This is based on a person's photo and name. While an inadequate way to measure race or ethnicity, looking at a person's photo and their name on a website is what a potential new member of the organization would likely do. In reference to Max Golding's excerpt, it provides a useful proxy for thinking about who would and would not see people who look like them in an organization.
** Note that this is a grassroots group, but has a much longer history than 350 Santa Barbara.
[1] One is from Malta.
[2] One I know to be biracial.

To put these numbers in context, in 2010, 42.9 percent of residents of Santa Barbara County chose Hispanic or Latino on the U.S. Census, compared with 38.0 percent of residents of Santa Barbara City. Only 47.9 percent identified as white alone, not Hispanic or Latino, in Santa Barbara County, and only 54.8 percent identified this way in Santa Barbara City. The proportion of Latinos grew in the 2015 census estimates. All Santa Barbara City-based groups in the table fall woefully short of approaching adequate representation of people of color. I bold the numbers for CAUSE to draw attention to just how different they are from

the environmental groups. This is in part due to the fact that much of their Santa Barbara County organizing occurs in Santa Maria, which is 70.4 percent Latino, on issues like farmworker rights and immigration—issues that are immediately salient to this community, part of everyday life. As my analysis suggests, however, their organizing style also plays a role.

Turning to Idaho, there is sharp contrast in the commitment to diversity evidenced by participants in the leadership of the environmental organization, with staff, that was most active on the megaload issue (see Table 12).

Table 12. Megaloads: Demographic Characteristics of Leadership of Local Environmental Group and Primary People of Color Organization They Worked With, February 1, 2017

Organization	Total	Men	Women	Potential Person of Color*
Friends of the Clearwater (Board of Directors)	9	7	2	3** (33%)
Friends of the Clearwater (Staff)	3	2	1	0 (0%)
Nimiipuu Protecting the Environment (Board of Directors)	4	2	2	3** (75%)

*This is based on a person's photo and name. While an inadequate way to measure race or ethnicity, looking at a person's photo and their name on a website is what a potential new member of the organization would likely do. In reference to Max Golding's excerpt, it provides a useful proxy for thinking about who would and would not see people who look like them in an organization.
**All are the same three Nez Perce individuals.[192]

While the numbers are small, the proportion of Nez Perce represented on the board of directors of Friends of the Clearwater is much greater than in the general population. In 2010,

[192] This of course, is a problem, because it puts much of the burden for multi-racial organizing on the shoulders of these individuals. As Nimiipuu Protecting the Environment grows, hopefully other individuals can take on some of the labor of representing Nez Perce interests in regional organizations.

in Latah County, Idaho, where Friends of the Clearwater is based, 90.6 percent of people identified as only white, with about a one percent estimated decrease in 2015. And even in Nez Perce County, where towns within the Nez Perce Reservation are located, 88.7 percent of residents identified as white alone, not Hispanic or Latino, in 2010. Just over five and a half percent identified as American Indian alone. Another important point is that two of the Nez Perce individuals on Friends of the Clearwater's board of directors joined after the bulk of megaload actions were over. This demonstrates a commitment to improve the representation of diverse voices in environmental issues, based on what environmentalists learned from the megaload struggle.

Further evidence of the progress made during the megaload campaign, in terms of working across racial lines, comes from interviews with Nez Perce women, who stressed how good it was to see white allies at their megaload blockade. Chumash individuals expressed similar views during Standing Rock protests held in Santa Barbara in 2016, hinting at potential for change in Santa Barbara County as well. Nez Perce tribal members Paulette Smith, Lucinda Simpson, and Samantha Smith expressed their views in the context of a group interview where we used the method of a listening circle. Using my recorder as a talking stick, we passed it among the four of us, listening as each person gave her account of the theme under discussion. In keeping with this method, I highlight their three perspectives below. In Paulette Smith's words:

> I think that [networking] is the only way we are going to be able to become this united huge front—that's my dream, is that we are all across the nation, different colors and races.... I was totally impressed during the megaloads, with all the non-natives that showed up, and I'm like yeah, we need that.... We have to become this force, we have to stretch across wherever and however far we can.... we've gotta agree to disagree, because I don't agree with all the people we work with, but I think the big picture, we're all working toward that, so that's how I see it, is that network.

Paulette echoes the "agree to disagree" mantra of activists in southwest Idaho and, like them, stressed the importance of finding a common goal to bring people together.

Lucinda Simpson, a tribal elder and board member of Nimiipuu Protecting the Environment, who had recently joined the board of Friends of the Clearwater, also prioritized coming together:

> The more people that you have, the better things work out for you, the more minds you have in one room that have different ideas. I think that if they all come to the table with one common goal, I think that's a big asset for us. I think that it's taken them [environmental groups] a little while to get used to us. They've known Julian Matthews for some time, but they are adjusting to us women [laughs] and getting an understanding of us a little bit too. I've been to different meetings up in Moscow with the Friends of the Clearwater ... and I've had my chance to speak the way I feel about different things.

Julian Matthews had long been in touch with environmentalists in the area and had started Nimiipuu Protecting the Environment in the wake of the megaloads. His personal relationships with tribal and non-tribal members had facilitated relationships among people from these communities, evidenced by Lucinda's excerpt.

Finally, Samantha Smith explained what it had been like to grow up in Idaho as a Nez Perce woman. Twenty-six years old, she had experienced intense grief, stress, and anger upon hearing that her mother, Paulette, and her sister had been "manhandled" during one of the megaload blockades while Samantha was out of town and unable to help. Experiences like this, which resonated with a whole history of trauma for her people, made the fact that white people stood in solidarity with the Nez Perce a surprise for Samantha. She explained,

> I guess growing up around the area, you encounter a lot of different people, some of them really nice, some of them not so much. So it's always kind of a shock to see non-natives turnout for something like that [the megaload blockade]... you don't expect non-natives to come to your rescue, especially in this area and I mean, it's a big help to minorities to have the majority there.... It speaks volumes, it means that

> there are humans in the world that care.... Finding those people that just see you as people and are willing to stand alongside you is amazing, because it doesn't come along a lot. So I think the fact that this group [Nimiipuu Protecting the Environment] is working with others that have different life experiences, different levels of privilege, it is a huge help.

The megaload campaign brought people together across racial and cultural lines. It illustrates how organizing against a shared enemy can be a springboard for talking across lines, identifying common values, and building new campaigns together.

Age Diversity

A final component of diversity for which interviews offer insight is age. Age arose organically in many interviews as an area of tension related to diversity. In Measure P and the megaloads, a wide range of age groups participated. While megaload interviewees were unanimous and explicit about the importance of involving young people, there were differences in how explicitly in support of young people Measure P proponents were.

With the megaloads, Brett Haverstick talked about involving elementary school children, showing me drawings that they did after he gave a presentation on the megaloads at a local school. One of the opening quotes to the megaload section of this chapter comes from one of these students. Similarly, Paulette Smith and Julian Matthews emphasized the need to involve Nez Perce youth in community organizing and environmental issues, and the need for others to learn communication strategies involved in social media so popular among youth.

In contrast, many of the youth who participated in Measure P felt alienated by the mostly old and mostly white members of Santa Barbara's environmental groups. The leaders

of these groups were also mostly male. Non-youth members of 350 Santa Barbara perceived a lack of support for youth engagement as well. Katie Davis explained, "It was surprising to me.... There was some like negative, reaction ... [to] these young people coming out and doing stuff.... there was a little weird territorialism amongst the old [environmental community in Santa Barbara]." Gary Paudler was disgusted by established organizations who "refused to be challenged by an upstart organization, and especially one with a lot of young people." Dave Davis expressed the opposite view, likely resonating with the old guard environmentalists, who were also older in age. In reflecting on Measure P, he said:

> I say this with all due respect, it was like you guys [Dave and others] are old guys and you guys just don't have the passion anymore ... and we were turning around and saying you guys [350 Santa Barbara] are young guys and you don't realize what you are doing ... So we were talking past each other and unfortunately, we were talking past each other very late in the game.

Coming together across lines of age—a proxy for presumed life experience relevant to political organizing—posed challenges in Measure P in Santa Barbara and among environmentalists working on other, non-megaload issues in Idaho. Young and old activists felt alienated by the other group, inhibiting each group from learning from and teaching each other. Kelsey, former executive director for an environmental nonprofit in Idaho, age thirty-four, offered a helpful metaphor for bridging this divide. Rather than having older activists "pass the torch" to younger activists, she advocated "lighting a new torch."

> The idea is that you light another torch ... and you both have light and there is more light. [T]hat's what I would like to see happen more in this intergenerational transition, is they [older people] can stay involved and give us their wisdom and learn from our passion and our new ideas, and we can temper our passion and new ideas with the wisdom and the experience, and we can find some way to actually solve these problems—because the problems are still happening, and it's like, yeah, I get that you started your program in the 80s, but you haven't fixed it yet, so maybe our ideas could help.

In the relatively successful example of working across lines of race and age—the megaloads—these identities are clearly intertwined within particular contexts. Like other indigenous communities, the Nez Perce hold high regard for elders. They also think far into the future, in terms of seven generations. Some of their cultural practices around age, therefore, likely shape interactions with white activists and the character of joint projects these groups will take on in the future.

CONCLUSION

The Idaho megaload and Santa Barbara Measure P campaigns took two different approaches to resisting extreme energy extraction. The megaload effort had multiple levels of engagement, in line with participants' preferences. It drew on diverse concerns, appealed to people's connection to place, and articulated a unified stance against all elements of the megaloads grounded in a sense of injustice, made more possible in a non-extraction state. After qualifying for the ballot, Measure P became an effort with few avenues for grassroots engagement, against the wishes of core participants. Reacting to industry messages emphasizing Santa Barbara's dependence on oil obscured proponents' messages. They were unable to convince enough voters of the injustice of extreme energy extraction.

These cases illuminate effective and ineffective ways to construct diverse coalitions with enough power to accomplish their goals. Connection to place, political economy, and identity were each important variables in these struggles. The comparison of these cases suggests that organic mobilization among diverse constituencies, when welcomed and included by others, can build foundations for working across lines. Valuing relationships,

prioritizing trust, and recognizing shared values all support this type of outcome. Showing solidarity, improving representation of people of color in leadership of existing organizations, and valuing what new and old generations have to contribute to climate justice are concrete paths forward.

This chapter draws on and extends the analyses in previous chapters by demonstrating how methods for talking across lines, building climate justice cultures of creation, and collaborating across organizational forms resonate widely among interviewees. In many ways, it analyzes large-scale efforts to implement the values youth interviewees espouse—the values at the heart of their political culture—among a set of activists who are much more diverse in age, experience, class, and education. I argue that these methods are the connecting threads among college students organizing in Santa Barbara, concerned community members protecting property in southwest Idaho, representatives of grassroots and grasstops organizations, and the diverse individuals who animated the Measure P and megaload struggles. These methods are one unifying characteristic of the climate justice movement.

CHAPTER NINE

Conclusion

I began this research with a contradiction: As society is becoming more and more aware of the risks of climate change, it is simultaneously expanding extraction of fossil fuels, and not just any fossil fuels, but the dirtiest, most expensive, and hardest to reach types. In this context, I felt like the logical response was resistance. I joined in with resistance in Santa Barbara, California. For a time, I found it invigorating. It made me feel at home in a place and connected to people whom I enjoyed spending time with—it gave me a sense of community. I began to be curious about what it was about organizing resistance that gave me, and many of the people around me, enough joy to put in the work that organizing requires, on top of schedules already full of obligations to work and family. I wanted to explore other people's experiences—to explore the nature of resistance to extreme energy extraction in different places. I thought that better understanding the contours of resistance might be useful for strengthening that resistance—for illuminating the creative ways of resisting that different folks have developed to meet the challenges and opportunities they face. I spoke and organized with many different people in communities in Idaho and California. Despite living in two very different contexts, their ideas about resistance returned, again and again, to ideas about how best to work together with other people. More specifically, the people I talked with were concerned about how to work together with people who had different views, different identities, different priorities, and different organizational affiliations. They wanted to be good at working across lines.

In my research cases, I argue that working across lines undergirds resistance to extreme energy extraction. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork conducted throughout 2013 to 2016 and 106 in-depth interviews, I find rural Idahoans working across lines of political identity in southwest Idaho and college student activists working to create inclusive climate justice organizations with diverse participants and campaigns. I find grassroots and grasstops groups in tension, with members of both types of organization seeking methods for working together. Finally, through exploration of two completed campaigns, I find evidence that building a broad-based network, which welcomes rather than attempts to homogenize different motivations, tactics, and strategies, can be key to success. Within the paradox of extreme energy extraction and climate change, people are working together to envision and embody a society that is just and sustainable—in other words, to build climate justice.

Interviewees' actions are building the climate justice movement, both by inspiring people to become politically engaged and by practicing, sharing, and developing ways of being with other people and the planet that will be central to achieving climate justice. They are working across lines by

- focusing on core values, which include community, justice, integrity, accountability, and health of people and the more-than-human world;
- identifying the roots of injustice, whether described as capitalism or lack of integrity and accountability of government and industry;
- cultivating relationships, what interviewees call *relational organizing*; and
- welcoming difference.

In southwest Idaho, working across lines takes the form of talking across lines, where activists focus on messaging issues that resonate widely in their community, avoid reinscribing each other into stereotypes related to political party affiliation and climate

change beliefs, and agree to disagree on some topics so they can come together on others. Over time, and with relationships of trust, I think even topics that activists agree to disagree on can eventually become subjects ripe for collaboration or, at the least, respectful conversation. In college organizing environments in Santa Barbara, California, working across lines is a creative culture of values and practices for building relationships, making organizing accessible, recognizing the intersectional or configured nature of people's identities and social movements themselves, and prefiguring communities where people are politically engaged and recognize their co-dependence with others, even those they do not agree with. Within the tensions that characterize grassroots-grasstops collaborations in my research, working across lines will be facilitated by more willingness, on the part of grasstops, to welcome new ideas and center rather than marginalize solutions that address the root causes of climate change, even if they are not pragmatic within the current political economy—a capitalism dominated by inequality and powerful corporations. It will also be facilitated by all types of organizations and activists prioritizing the construction of coalitions that include all sectors of the community. Working across lines can be very difficult in short time frames, when opposed by the oil and gas industry's financial power, and in hierarchically structured electoral campaigns, as I show with Measure P in Santa Barbara County. In contrast, a loose network that allows each group to use their preferred tactics and strategies can inspire many different people, with different motivations, to support a struggle. As the Idaho mobilization against megaloads demonstrates, a healthy coalition can cultivate enough people power to foil the plans of a modern-day Goliath, ExxonMobil. That rural white Idahoans could work together with the Nez Perce Tribe in one of the most conservative states in the country to bar ExxonMobil and other companies from the most cost-effective

route for transporting infrastructure to the tar sands should be a story of hope for activists everywhere. It's an example of how relationships, trust, solidarity, and coming together around shared understanding of right and wrong enables working across lines.

Working across lines is both a practice and vision that can be what Tsing calls a "charismatic package," a traveling activist model that can feature morals, stories, or organizational plans. These packages can show how the underdog can become a political force; they are informed and given meaning and power by location and context, which can be a place, widespread political culture, or point where two cultures meet (Tsing 2004:227-228). As Tsing writes, an activist package, "is most striking when it inspires unexpected social collaborations, which realign the social field. We might speak of 'happy collaborations'—not joyful but felicitous; in coming together, they make a difference in what counts as politics" (227-8). Working across lines is an activist package with these goals at its core. And, I would argue against Tsing—it is an activist package that strives to be joyful. This is evident in the creative protest tactics employed by interviewees in many locations—students participating in the May 2016 Fossil Free UCSB Divestival hopping on carbon bubble balls or pinning the lie on Exxon (see Figure 28 and 29), women dressing up in ball gowns to stop megaloads, and CAIA members erupting in laughter while brainstorming a holiday fundraising item, modeled off of the Staples easy button[193] that would say, "You are *so* horribly fracked!!"[194] Joy is central to prefiguring the world activists want to see.

[193] When you press the button, this piece of plastic exclaims, "That was easy!" See it here: http://www.staples.com/Staples-Easy-Button/product_606396.

[194] Here are my fieldnotes describing this brainstorming session, which happened near midnight at the end of a six-hour-long CAIA meeting on October 12, 2015 when the group was figuring out whether or not to talk about the links between fracking and climate change while they tabled at the upcoming Idaho Climate Rally. Sherry, who wanted the messaging to

Figure 28. Students race on carbon bubbles, rubber balls that say "gas," "coal," and "oil".

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stick to fracking and not climate change said, *"no you can just leave the message at there are methane leaks, period. There are so many concerns from so many angles, it's horrible fucked no matter what, it really doesn't matter." The tone of Sherry's comment reflected the overall mood of the group – gloomy and tired. Out of nowhere, however, the idea arose of a Staples easy button except a "horribly fracked" button. Alma exclaimed, "What do you think of Congress? HORRIBLY FUCKED," slamming her hand down on the table and laughing loudly. She went on to say examples including the IRS and the ex-wife. They envisioned how it could say F****D on the front, so it could actually exclaim fracked, rather than fucked—fracked as the new fucked. Alma came up with another example, "The Clampetts move in next store, here comes the moving van, ... you are so horribly fracked! Ex-wife with attorney in tow, you are so horribly fracked!" Dottie said that she liked "horribly," and asked "what would the recording sound like?" I suggest Sherry's voice. Sherry models the voice, but points out, "the button can't throw its hands up" – something she did as she said it. Alma goes on brainstorming about matching T shirts. Sherry says something like oh it is getting late, "but brainstorming is excellent" as she stretches back in her chair. She comes up with the example of flying saucers landed in your yard... HORRIBLY FRACKED.*

Figure 29. In "Pin the Lie on Exxon," student attempts to pin the lie on then Exxon CEO Rex Tillerson's face.

Working across lines, through the four methods I highlight above, is also a way to build a collective identity. Scholars define collective identity as social movement participants' shared understanding of the problems they face, the solutions they propose, and the environment in which they organize, as well as the relationships they build around these understandings. A collective identity is a process rather than a thing. It is continually negotiated and reshaped, through activists' relationships with each other and the emotions that infuse a social movement (Martínez forthcoming; Melucci 1989; Taylor and Whittier 1992).

Collective identity is a particularly important part of organizing for the climate justice movement. As with other movements rooted in justice, the climate justice movement's goal is for those most affected by the problem, the people on the "frontlines," to be at the forefront of efforts to address it. The logic behind this approach is that the people who experience the worst effects of a situation are most well equipped to identify solutions and that the solutions that help the most marginalized will benefit everyone.[195] In her study of the barriers to mobilization against mountaintop-removal coal mining in central Appalachia, Shannon Bell (2016) explores collective identity in the environmental justice movement. She finds that what people on the frontlines of mountaintop-removal coal mining perceive as the collective identity of the environmental justice movement dissuades them from participating. This is a major problem for a movement whose central tenet is leadership by the people most affected by environmental injustice. I argue that the methods for working across lines that I detail in this dissertation possess potential to address this problem. They can facilitate activists' capacity to build collective identities that are inclusive to many different communities, both because they are grounded in cultivating relationships, seek to clarify how social and environmental issues are intertwined, and because they strive to prioritize messages that resonate with people across political affiliations, identities, and positionalities within organizations. In these respects, working across lines can illuminate methods for building collective identity, coalitions, and more broadly, political cultures of resistance and creation (Foran 2014; Reed and Foran 2002) in many different social movement contexts.

[195] This perspective is the core of the Women, Culture Development Paradigm that guides my study, as well as ecofeminism and environmental justice.

This research also builds understanding of how people engage with their environment. This is the core question of the environmental social sciences. The social drivers and consequences of the climate crisis, and the marginalization of people-centered perspectives on how to address this problem (Dunlap and Brulle 2015; Sovacool 2014) reinvigorate the urgency of expanding knowledge on the current state of this engagement and the innovations that people are developing. I explore the climate justice movement as one of these innovations. As a relatively new movement, it joins other twenty-first century movements in having the privilege of drawing on examples and insights from more historical movements and thinkers than ever before. Digital technologies make the scale and speed of sharing this information unprecedented. Understanding how this movement wields this privilege, and how it might do so in the most just, sustainable, and powerful way possible, enhances understanding of how social movements work and how they can transform socio-environmental relationships.

The contradiction of extreme extraction and climate change is unprecedented in its scale. It reveals, as never before, the "slow violence" (Nixon 2011) of status quo social relations—how, if high carbon societies continue current practices, there will be untold global suffering and damage. We do not have to do anything (literally) to arrive at this dystopian future. It will affect all living beings' capacity to survive and has already begun. The climate emergency is harming many while many others as yet feel untouched by its effects. It is as if massive nuclear bombs have been launched globally, with some having already hit low-lying and marginalized communities. What remains to be seen is how we respond.

The increasing clarity of our circumstances, however, offers openings for change. Energy and climate affect the lives of everyone on earth in intimate ways. A Wall Street banker could not survive without energy, just as a Hadza hunter and gatherer in Tanzania could not survive in a climate drastically different than that which her skills are adapted to.[196] Climate change threatens the resources that all people depend on. Extreme energy extraction is capitalism's last-ditch attempt to stabilize its crumbling structure, a structure that cannot work without inequality and ever increasing use of resources. In this attempt, capitalism is, as Marx would say, digging its own grave, both materially and socially. As renewable energy becomes more affordable,[197] as local climate impacts become more widespread, and as extreme energy infrastructures disrupt the lives of more people, maintaining the status quo seems unacceptable to an increasing number of people. People respond to this realization in different ways. As the election of Donald Trump to the U.S. presidency in 2016 illustrates, some people respond by demanding change, no matter how outlandish and offensive the form of change may seem to people who hold other views or who experience oppression because of that change. From my interactions with research participants, I think harnessing this desire for change, by identifying common values, practicing deep listening, cultivating trust, and welcoming difference as the very core of what makes solidarity and collaboration such a rewarding social experience can be a way forward to a world where people enjoy just and sustainable relationships with each other and the more-than-human world.

[196] While women are proven leaders in climate change adaptation and mitigation (see chapter two; WEDO 2008), they will be hard pressed to adapt to the temperature increases that would result from worst scenario emissions trajectories.

[197] Solar energy has reached record low prices across all sectors (see Weiner 2016).

MOVING FORWARD

Moving forward, I hope this research will spark exploration of working across lines in other places, movements, and times. What are other examples of unlikely alliances? What methods have alliance participants used to work together and how have these contributed to achieving their vision of success? How do different cultural settings and histories inform who participates and how? How will dividing lines—whether political, racial, or cultural—shift as climate change accelerates?

When possible, research on these themes is richest when conducted during a campaign. By rich, I mean most able to generate emotion in the researcher and reader. Emotion is important for empathy and in my experience, facilitates understanding of how other people's lives relate to one's own—in essence, a person's capacity for "sociological imagination" that connects personal troubles to social issues (Mills 1959). I engaged in research during a campaign in southwest Idaho, where daily life for the people I lived with revolved around how to work across lines. As a scholar activist during this period, I had time to reflect on and synthesize the experience while it was fresh in my mind and most useful to activists. My research on Measure P blended contemporary and retrospective analysis. In contrast to my involvement in southwest Idaho as a scholar activist, during the Measure P campaign I played the part of an activist scholar. Because my scholar role was secondary, the bulk of my analysis of the event, and my efforts to capture participants' perspectives, occurred two years later. I engaged with the other campaigns that constitute the subject of this dissertation in retrospective fashions. Retrospective accounts have the benefit of facilitating interviewees' capacity to express their views in distilled forms that grow out of the coalescence of lived experience, social context, and change over time. Yet these accounts

cannot enable the researcher to witness how and whether interviewees act on their perspectives. Some of this witnessing can happen through reading news reports from the time, other researchers' accounts, or by watching videos that are posted by participants on the internet, which I have done. These mediated forms of experience facilitate different analyses that contribute to, but cannot replace research conducted by someone with the time and privilege to engage in scholar-activism as working across lines unfolds. I feel fortunate to have had this privilege for portions of the research. Yet I am also grateful for my activist-centered experience of Measure P that inspired this project. Future research should take advantage of the many struggles underway, documenting, analyzing, and synthesizing lessons learned in real time, for scholars, activists, and people living within in a changing climate.

In closing, I highlight interviewees' reflections on hope, something they locate within their collaborations with other people—while working across lines. Hope is critical to realizing climate justice now and in the future. As Rebecca Solnit has written, "hope is an ax you break down doors with in an emergency.... To hope is to give yourself to the future – and that commitment to the future is what makes the present inhabitable" (Solnit 2016:4). In each of my 106 conversations with research participants, my final question was, "What do you hope for the future?" Here are a few of their responses.

> We are either going to bring about [a] beautiful future, or we are going to be the hospice workers for the dying future, you know, and either way, that is noble work ... I'll dedicate my life to that.... we're going to put all of our love and all of our energy into it and just hope for the best. And I don't see complete tragedy in the future.... there are so many smart minds working on this, like we have hope, definitely. I'm kind of excited [laughs].
>
> – Miranda O'Mahony, age 19

> When I see something positive in the news or you know something like what happened in Portland, like people hanging off the bridge to block the ship, that just makes the cockles of my heart warm and I feel like there's enough of us who care about the planet out there—it's just a matter of finding the means to make it happen and also organizing ... there's tons of us who want that to happen, so I just feel like it's a matter of time, us doing everything we can to actualize that.
>
> – Zach Rosenblatt, age 23

> As long as there is community there will be hope. There has to be, people are so powerful—they just have to realize it. A lot of people don't even realize how much power they have within themselves, so community is good for that, because when you have someone else telling you that you can do it, then you're like, "Yeah, I can do it." And that's what we need more of, we need more people empowering each other to do what they want to do.
>
> – Camile, age 21

> There are a lot of ... people who ... have found that they do have power ... and they are using it and they are getting more and more engaged in their region and in the community and making connections.... knowing that these people are working hard, it gives me ... a sense of hope that we are going to be okay.
>
> – Arlo, age 23

> My hope really is that we don't survive, but we thrive.... I really hope that people can come together and learn to work with each other and talk to each other and we get out of this kind of the domineering mindset and really create healthy alternatives to capitalist social relations.
>
> – Jake, age 24

> Nothing's really going to change much unless everyone is able to see where everyone else is coming from and cooperate, because the powers at be are very very very powerful.... it's going to take a lot of people being sensitive to one another to be able to confront that effectively.
>
> – Sarah, age 23

These thoughts on hope all come from young people whose entire lives will be shaped by the climate crisis. That they have homed in on the importance of love, community, empowering each other, and cooperation bodes well for the future.

The creativity of young people, combined with the experience and willingness, on the part of elders, to welcome and nourish new ideas, and the empathy, from people resisting extreme energy extraction everywhere, to realize the shared roots of their struggles, will all be critical to working across lines. As Sarah explains, these "regenerative" relationships must be grounded in diversity and inclusivity:

> I'm comparing it to kind of the success or lack thereof in sustaining the health of a plot of land that's a complete monoculture. Like it can last for so long and be in good health for so long, but it's weak.... if you have this lovely collection of like-minded people that are all coming from the same kind of experience, the same perspective, that can be fun, like hang out with those people, work with those people, but it's so confined to that ... one kind of environment, or perspective.... It can also be really detrimental in that it can create so much of this like elitist or exclusive environment that people that want to be involved may not feel very supported in being involved, and they won't be involved.
>
> – Sarah

Sarah's words parallel the thesis of the climate justice movement—that a broad-based social movement that inspires and supports diverse participants is our best hope for building a healthy and regenerative world. I hope this dissertation illuminates this thesis, and by detailing how people work across lines in their daily lives to resist extreme energy extraction, helps us realize climate justice.

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